

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

CONTEMPORARY ESSAYS

Karan Singh

GENERAL EDITORS
K. M. MUNSHI
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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY

What Bharatiya Vidya Stands for

Bharatiya Shiksha must ensure that no promising young Indian of oharacter having faith in Bharat and her culture Bharatiya Vidya should be left without modern oducational equipment by reason merely of want of funds.

2, Bharatiya Shiksha must be formative more than informative, and cannot have for its end mere acquisition of knowledge. Its legitimate sphere is not only to develop natural talents but so to shape thein as to enable them to absorb and express the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya.

3. Bharatiya Shiksha must take into account not only the full growth of a student's personality but the totality of his relations and lead him to the highest self-fulfilment of which he is capable.

4. Bharatiya Shiksha must involve at some stage or other an intensive study of Sanskrit or Sanskritic languages and their literature, without excluding, if so desired, the study of other languages and literature, ancient and modern.

5. The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process.

6. Bharatiya Shiksha must stimulate the student's power of expression, both written and oral, at every stage in accordance with the highest ideals attained by the great literary masters in the intellectual and moral spheres.

7. The technique of Bharatiya Shiksha must involve—

(a) the adoption by the teacher of the *Guru* attitude which consists in taking a personal interest in the student; inspiring and encouraging him to achieve distinction in his studies; entering into his life with a view to form ideals and remove psychological obstacles; and creating in him a spirit of consecration; and

(b) the adoption by the student of the *Sahitya* attitude by the development of—

(i) respect for the teacher,

(ii) a spirit of inquiry,

(iii) a spirit of service towards the teacher, the institution, Bharat and Bharatiya Vidya.

8. The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Shiksha is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which is flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi.

9. Bharatiya Shiksha while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training must teach the student, not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form of attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya; and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present it to the world.



आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

—Rigveda, I-89-i

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay—needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular emphasis, however, was to be put on such literature as revealed the deeper impulsions of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books, 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once. Each book was to contain from 200 to 250 pages.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting its utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of the Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit:

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions which would allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within

the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressively transmuted, so that man may become the instrument of God, and is able to see Him in all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspiration which such books can teach.

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form easily accessible to all. Books in other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, as also the movements of the mind in India, which, though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata*, summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C. Rajagopalachari; the second work is on a section of it, the *Gita*, by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata* : "What is not in it, is nowhere." After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who knows it not, knows not the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic; it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who

were divine ; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival; but, above all, it has for its core the *Gita*, which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas in which the climax is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life.

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi
3rd October 1951

K. M. MUNSHI

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THIS is a valuable addition to the Bhavan's publications in that it reflects the vibrant views of a unique personality in our public life.

Dr. Karan Singh has just completed forty years of age and he is thus a fitting bridge across the generation gap, the gap between the "old guard" and the growing youth, who find themselves unable to understand and appreciate the emotions and viewpoints of each other, leading to confusion and friction. Constituting, as he does, a bond between the two age groups, he is competent to suggest ways and means of integrating the two into a harmonious whole for the good of the nation.

This Dr. Karan Singh has done in a remarkable manner in a series of speeches and writings over the past few years on a wide variety of subjects including religion, politics, economics, art and, above all, a stirring exhortation to the youth of the land. Coming from an idealist, who has his feet well rooted in our ancient heritage and his vision directed to the exciting future, Dr. Karan Singh's message has a special significance and appeal to the rising generation on whom rests the proud privilege and onerous responsibility of guiding the destiny of the country in the years to come.

To Gopāldā

आत्मक्रीड़ आत्मरतिः क्रियावान्
एष ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः

INTRODUCTION

It has been said that we spend the first half of our lives trying to understand the older generation and the second half trying to understand the younger. The rub is that one is never sure exactly where the half mark is. Be that as it may, it seems to me that forty is as good a time as any to take stock of one's life and re-examine the fundamental bases upon which one's world-view is founded. I suppose at forty one formally enters middle age, and I can remember as a boy thinking of forty as being almost preternaturally old. And yet, by current political standards, perhaps I can derive some satisfaction from the fact that I am still considered to be rather young!

More than half my life, almost twenty-two years, has been spent in what is known as a 'public career'. I was just over eighteen when, in 1949, I became constitutional head of Jammu and Kashmir, remaining in that position under different names (Regent, Sadar-i-Riyasat, Governor) for eighteen years. The last four years, from March 1967, have been spent in a more active political field, and this entire period has been for me an extremely valuable and exciting experience in education, using the term in its broadest sense. A detailed account will have to await my autobiography, which I look forward to writing after I have done with active politics. Meanwhile, in this article, which is a kind of introduction to a collection of writings and speeches over the last few years, I will try and identify some of the more important beliefs that I have come to hold in the course of the last forty years, howsoever imperfectly I may have succeeded in making them the actual basis of my life.

Our beliefs flow from the totality of experience to which we have been exposed, and I have been fortunate in that this exposure has in some respects been more varied and intense than falls to the lot of most people. There are four main sets of factors that have moulded my thinking—books, music, travel and people. In all four I have had the good fortune of an extremely wide and stimulating contact, and if I have not imbibed more from them the fault is entirely my own. In any case, I shall try briefly to identify the major beliefs that I have come to hold, even though I am acutely aware of the difficulty in expressing complex ideas in simple words.

I believe that man, still in an intermediate stage between the animal and the divine, can raise himself into a higher plane of being if he makes a conscious and dedicated effort to do so, and that there can be no nobler endeavour than this aspiration towards divinity. I believe that each human being born on this planet, or for that matter anywhere else in the limitless cosmos, carries within himself an unquenchable spark of divinity, and that our true destiny as human beings revolves around the fanning of this spark into the smokeless flame of spiritual realization.

I believe that all political, economic and social activity should have as its ultimate goal the fostering of this divinity within each individual, and that scientific and technological developments are ultimately counter-productive if they do not conduce towards this end. I believe that at their highest all religions are so many different paths leading to the same goal, the ineffable and indescribable union between the human and the divine; that mystics of all religious persuasions have realized and preached essentially the same doctrine of human love and divine communism; and that strife and hatred in the name of religion is therefore the

very antithesis of spirituality and a gross slur on the name of humanity.

I believe that India, with its unique heritage stretching back to the very dawn of civilization, has a special role to play in fostering a society which would support this process of divinization. In a world torn by violence and hatred I believe that India can play a crucial role in leading humanity towards a new equilibrium between wealth and wisdom, having and being. I believe that we must work for political integration, economic growth, social transformation and secular democracy not merely as ends in themselves but because this combination can best provide the framework within which the people of our ancient land can fulfil their destiny.

I believe that as long as millions go without the basic necessities of civilized existence it is utterly unreal to talk to them about things of the spirit, and that the basic material needs of man must be satisfied as a foundation for further spiritual growth. I believe that this can be achieved only when we succeed in motivating the people of India to put in several decades of hard disciplined effort for the production of wealth, and simultaneously adopt policies to ensure that the wealth so produced is distributed fairly to all sections of society. I believe that this can be achieved not by propagating the bitter doctrine of implacable class warfare but, rather, by trying to involve the nation as a whole in the mighty effort required to break the poverty barrier that still persists around us.

I believe that politics will always be turbulent because that is the nature of politics, as it is the nature of the sun to be hot and water to be wet, and that it is futile to lament over the state of politics as did Arjuna on the field of battle. I believe that even if the historical Krishna is not standing next to us holding the reins of our chariot, we must attune

ourselves to his voice that echoes and re-echoes in the inner stillness of our being, and face boldly the battle of life into which we find ourselves precipitated. I believe that, approached in the right spirit, political activity can be a powerful instrument for human transformation and can thus contribute substantially to the broader goals that lie before the human race.

I believe that love and friendship constitute the surest bonds in a world where everything is constantly changing, and that these should be cherished whenever and wherever they are found. I believe that the creation of beauty through music and poetry, the fine arts and architecture, is a central function of civilization and must be encouraged so that increasingly large sections of society can derive the immaterial but extremely valuable benefits that flow therefrom, so that man can be led from the outer beauty of form to the inner beauty of spirit. I believe, further, that our system of education should be designed to inculcate in the young an awareness of the primacy of the spirit, without in any way belittling the importance of the material foundations upon which any dynamic civilization must rest.

I believe that our generation holds the present in trust for posterity, and that we have to fulfil this responsibility so that we can repay the debt that we ourselves owe to the past. I believe that we must, therefore, protect this planet from wanton despoliation and blatant exploitation in the name of progress, that we must conserve its atmosphere and water, its forests and wild life, from the destruction they are facing as the result of increasing urbanization and industrialization.

I believe that despite continuing animosity and hostility between nations, and growing violent divisions within nations themselves, the human race will be forced by the end of this century to move towards some form of world order transcending national barriers, and that, although

each one of us owes a deep debt to the country of our origin, as members of the human race we also owe a wider loyalty to the planet that has nurtured our kind for millions of years.

I believe that life is necessarily a mosaic of joy and sorrow, of pleasure and pain, of failure and success, of shadow and sunlight; that we must accept these dualities as a necessary stage in our spiritual progress until we are able to transcend them; and that each experience can be a valuable means for inner growth, unpleasant situations often affording greater opportunities for development than superficially pleasant ones.

I believe that death is a natural and necessary corollary to life, and must be accepted in a positive manner rather than with fear and dread. I believe that the death of the body merely marks another step in the long journey of the pilgrim soul towards its final destination, and that man must shake off the superstitious dread that he has with regard to this essential and inescapable phenomenon.

I believe, finally, that a divine destiny pervades the cosmos, a destiny not distant and remote but one in which in some mysterious way, each one of us is actively involved. I believe that the most effective means of fulfilling that destiny is a combination of active outer involvement in furthering human welfare and intense inner striving to reach the goal of spiritual realization. I believe, thus, that the most eloquent prayer man has evolved is one that has resounded in India down through the corridors of time since the very dawn of our civilization—

From the unreal lead me to the real;
From darkness lead me to the light;
From death lead me to immortality.

KARAN SINGH

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RELIGION AND MODERN INDIA

RELIGION IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Every great world religion today is facing a major crisis, and this arises not from persecution by some other religion, nor even from the threat of communism which has itself developed many characteristics of a religion with its own scripture and rival high priests claiming infallibility. It arises rather from the impact on modern life of science and technology that is transforming the world before our very eyes. The old is collapsing, the new is struggling to be born, and we find ourselves poised precariously between the past and the future.

In the West religious values have largely ceased to exercise any sovereignty over the hearts of the younger generations, and yet the growth of material prosperity by itself has proved woefully inadequate to meet the deeper aspirations of the young. The alienation between generations, which is steadily widening with the growing speed of technological change, is making it increasingly difficult for any sort of accepted values to be passed on from one generation to the other. The poverty barrier in the affluent countries has been broken, but this does not seem to have brought about any substantial increase in human happiness. Millennia ago, the seers of the Upanishads said: *Na Vittena Tarpaneeyo Manushyah* (Wealth does not bring contentment to man), and today, when an increasing section of mankind is at last breaking out of the poverty that has encased it for centuries, the validity of this view is being established.

In a country like ours there are still millions who live below the poverty level, for whom the basic necessities of civilized life are lacking, and we must bend our efforts to

see that within the next decade every Indian is assured of at least a minimum standard of living. And yet the problem of religious values in a developing society remains, and cannot be postponed until our economic breakthrough occurs. In fact potentially the problem is more acute in a largely traditional society like ours which will increasingly feel the traumatic impact of science and technology over the next decade. It is therefore necessary that we should clarify our approach to this crucial problem, especially when the voices which are loudest today either advocate a wholesale jettisoning of religion or propound views whose blatant obscurantism is matched only by their pathetic anachronism.

Ever since Vedic times the religion that is now popularly known as Hinduism has played a decisive role in the destiny of this nation. This is not in any way to depreciate the role of the other great world religions that continue to flourish in this country, but to stress the fact that it is Hinduism that has predominantly moulded the contours of our national consciousness through the ages, that has indeed been largely responsible for the very subsistence of India as an entity despite centuries of alien rule and incredible political fragmentation. Today, after numerous alternations of shadow and sunlight, of triumph and tragedy, of hope and despair, India has at last emerged as a sovereign independent republic containing within its boundaries fully one-seventh of the entire human race. Our Constitution rightly lays down that India is to be a secular nation, in the sense that the State is not to be partial towards any religion and every citizen is to enjoy complete equality in the eyes of the law. This is entirely as it should be, and it is a matter for satisfaction that, despite the trauma of partition and the avowedly theological postulates

of our closest neighbour, we have in the last two decades moved towards strengthening our secular base.

Secularism, however, cannot and does not mean that the people of India should forget their religious heritage. And as the vast majority of Indians are Hindus, the restatement of Hinduism in the context of the nuclear age assumes tremendous importance. A great strength of Hinduism has been that, based as it ultimately is upon direct spiritual realization rather than scripture and dogma, and lacking as it does any rigid ecclesiastical structure, it has always been open to creative reinterpretation. From the time of the Vedas thousands of years ago right down to the present century, there have been constant restatements of Hinduism which, basing themselves upon the fundamental verities of the Upanishads, have reinterpreted these principles to meet the requirements of the changing times. In our century savants such as Swami Vivekananda and Ramana Maharshi, Sri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi, have given a new impetus to society by dynamic reinterpretations of eternal truths.

Today, the phenomenal progress of science and technology will no longer brook the continuance of outmoded superstitions and dogmas. And yet science itself has been forced to give up the arrogance that characterized it earlier when scientists proclaimed that they had finally found the solution to all the mysteries of life. Indeed, the deeper science probes into the heart of matter and the farther it soars into the unending vastnesses of outer space, the more clearly does it recognize that it is still only on the threshold of understanding the cosmos in which we exist. And, at its greatest, science seems to converge towards an almost religious attitude before the infinite and unending mysteries of existence. Therefore, while on the surface it may appear that there is a sharp polarization between science

and religion, a deeper view shows that there is for the first time the possibility of a convergence between these two great approaches to life—a twin quest, one by science into outer space and the structure of matter, and the other by religion into inner space and the nature of the human spirit.

In this broad context I venture to put forth what I consider to be the four fundamental concepts that we must accept if religion is not to become increasingly peripheral to the vast majority of human beings but, on the contrary, develop into a dynamic force for a new integration without which, in this age of thermo-nuclear weapons, the continued existence of the human race itself has become uncertain.

These are:

1. *The unity of the human race.* The Rig Vedic concept of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* (The world as a family) is now becoming a reality. With supersonic travel around the corner, and the extraordinary growth of global telecommunications, the world in fact is shrinking before our eyes, and a concept which came to our Rishis in a flash of inspiration has now assumed tremendous relevance. The growing gap between man's destructive ability and his capacity for constructive co-operation poses a serious threat to our continued existence, and unless we can look upon mankind as a single family, cutting across divisions of race and nation, religion and belief, it will not be possible for man long to survive.

2. *The divinity of man.* The Upanishads have a marvellous phrase for the human race, *Amrutasya Putrāh* (Children of Immortality). This means that every human being born into this world, regardless of where he lives or what beliefs he professes, enshrines a spark of the divinity that pervades and permeates the cosmos. In this view man is

not merely a fortuitous conglomeration of atoms, but embodies a divine principle which makes the enjoyment of human dignity his birthright. The divinity of God is now no longer a sufficient slogan; if God exists He is by definition divine, and this divinity hardly needs reiteration. Today we must move on towards the concept of the divinity of man and, flowing therefrom, the inalienable dignity of the human individual.

3. *The unity of all religions.* 'Unity' rather than 'tolerance', because tolerance is an essentially negative concept implying a somewhat grudging agreement to let religions other than one's own continue to exist. This is not enough; what is required is an active acceptance of the doctrine put forward in the Rig Vedic dictum *Ekam Sad Vipraah*: *Bahudha Vadanti* (Truth is one, the wise call it by many names). The *Mundaka Upanishad* expresses this beautifully in these words:

Yathaa Nadyah Syanamaanaah Samudre
Astam gacchanti Naamaroope Vihaaya
Tathaa Vidwaan Namaroopaad Vimuktah
Paraat Param Purushamupaiti Divyam

(As flowing rivers, from wheresoever they may arise, merge into the same ocean casting off name and form, so do the knowers, from wheresoever they may come, attain to the same supreme divinity, freed from all limitations.) Indeed it is an unequivocal acceptance of the fact that all religions are different paths leading to the same goal that, to my mind, forms the true foundation for secularism. Religions provide the broad framework and the psychological motivation within which can develop the eternal mystery of communion between man and the divine, or, to put it differently, between our outer and our deeper reality. Viewed thus, religion can become a great unifying force in a world torn

by suspicion and hatred, rather than the source of conflict that it has so often been in the past.

4. *The reconstruction of society.* It is our duty to work for the betterment of society: *Bahujana Sukhaya Bahujana Hitayacha* (for the happiness of the many, and for the welfare of the many). We must realize that as long as millions in this country go without adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, our theoretical postulations regarding the divinity of man have little relevance as far as they are concerned. Swami Vivekananda used to say that it was a sin to preach religion to one who is hungry or naked, and today in free India it must be our active endeavour to alleviate the suffering of our countrymen and to build for them a new socio-economic order which would ensure that every Indian receives at least the basic requirements for a decent human existence. In this context such absurd irrelevancies as untouchability must be swept aside once and for all. No longer can we afford to indulge in spurious intellectual gymnastics to justify a practice that for centuries has been a black mark upon the face of our nation and constitutes the very antithesis of the principles that I have enumerated.

I submit that these principles, based upon the deep spiritual experience of seers and mystics not only in Hinduism but in other great world religions, are crucially relevant to the present predicament of man. It is my belief that only by a generous and unqualified acceptance of these concepts can religion become truly significant in this nuclear age, and provide that firm bedrock of inner values upon which alone can an integrated and coherent superstructure of material welfare and intellectual emancipation be raised. If religion remains bound within the shackles of narrow orthodoxy it will become increasingly irrelevant to the rising generations, and mankind will be left with an inner void that no amount of material progress will be able to fill.

THREE APPROACHES TO SECULARISM

SECULARISM IS FUNDAMENTAL to free India and is built into the very structure of the Constitution under which we live today as citizens of a democratic society. However, the mere fact of constitutional provisions is not enough to ensure that the concept is fully grasped, and it is necessary that we should constantly analyze and fully understand the crucial importance of secularism in our national life. This is particularly important where the post-Independence generation, to which I myself belong, is concerned, because for us the freedom struggle—though a glorious chapter in our national history—is nevertheless essentially a historical rather than a personal event. We have grown up on the assumption that India is a sovereign independent nation, and there is always the danger that we may take this for granted without realizing that the foundations of freedom and democracy have constantly to be strengthened by each successive generation if the mighty structure of resurgent India is to grow to its full stature. In this context I would like to analyze this important concept of secularism.

To my mind there are among those who accept secularism three approaches current in India today, all revolving around differing conceptions of religion. The first approach is of those who look upon religion merely as an anachronism from the dark ages, as organized superstition or, at best, as an interesting sociological phenomenon which is one of the burdens that the past has hung around the neck of the present. In this view, the sooner all religions were consigned to the dust-bin of history the better for all concerned. But this school of thought is realistic enough to appreciate the fact that Indians are on the whole a deeply religious people,

and it therefore feels that secularism is the only rational and feasible approach that can be adopted. Thus, while fully committed to the concept of secularism, this commitment is based upon a rejection of religious values and can therefore be termed the anti-religious approach to secularism.

At the other end of the spectrum is what might be termed the utilitarian approach to secularism. This school of thought holds that it would have been extremely desirable if all the inhabitants of India had belonged to the Hindu faith, because in that case India could then openly become a Hindu State. However, they realize the inescapable fact that many crores of people living in this country are non-Hindus and that there is little possibility of this situation being remedied. As a result they reluctantly have to accept the necessity of India being a secular State. From this point of view secularism is a necessary evil, which must be endured because of the multi-religious nature of the Indian nation.

According to the third approach, to which I personally subscribe, both these attitudes are unsatisfactory and fail to provide a dynamic and positive theory of secularism. In this view the true sanction behind secularism is that all religions are in fact so many different approaches towards the same divine Reality. As numerous streams flow from many directions to join the same ocean, as many paths ascend from different directions to the same summit, so do the various religions that have developed among mankind through the ages have as their goal the same divine communion. If a divine reality exists—as I firmly believe it does—it must ultimately be the same for all human beings. Howsoever deep and abrasive may be the differences that divide various religions on the sectarian and denominational level,

at the level of true religious experience these must necessarily be resolved into an integral and transcendent unity.

I would submit that this view of religion alone can give us a correct approach towards the whole concept of secularism, because when we accept the basic unity of all religions we simultaneously imbibe the true spirit of secularism, neither as a rejection of religious values, nor as a merely utilitarian instrument which must be accepted as a necessary evil, but as a positive and dynamic force which must remain one of the cardinal tenets of the Indian Republic.

COMMUNALISM AND RELIGION

In the peculiar context in which the word has come to be used in India, communalism implies thinking and acting from a narrowly religious and sectarian viewpoint rather than in the broader national interest. This being so, we must examine the relationship between communalism and religion to see whether in fact there is any inescapable bond between them as is often alleged.

Not only in India but throughout the world religion has through the ages played two distinct roles in society. On the one hand, it has had the effect of unifying large sections of people who would otherwise have remained fragmented and fractured into petty tribes and principalities, thus bringing about a tremendous degree of cohesion among large groups of human beings within States and also transcending national barriers. On the other, religion has also led to sharp and severe divisions between man and man, group and group, nation and nation. The history of mankind is replete with wars and crusades based upon religious fanaticism, and within countries there have been large-scale internecine riots and civil wars based upon religious differences. There is, of course, the third aspect of religion, in fact its real and crucial role, which lies in providing the philosophical background and psychological motivation for the individual spiritual quest, but this has an individual rather than a sociological impact.

In India we can see all these aspects of religion clearly at work through the long vistas of our history. There is no doubt that Hinduism has been largely responsible for the continuing unity of India despite its incredible political fragmentation; indeed without this cementing force it

would have been impossible for the concept of India to have survived the vicissitudes inflicted by many centuries of foreign domination. It is also true, however, that since the advent of Islam there have been many occasions upon which the followers of these two great religions have come into bitter and severe conflict. The partition of India itself, despite our firm disavowal of the two-nation theory, was based essentially upon the breaking away of large sections of Muslim majority areas, and to that extent Pakistan was the measure of our failure to integrate into the body politic of India large sections of the Muslim population. It has until now been fashionable to lay the blame for partition exclusively at the door of the British. There is little doubt that our foreign rulers were in no small measure responsible, but it seems to me that scholars belonging to the post-Independence generation should take another look at the whole genesis and development of Pakistan; the results may be as interesting as they are uncomfortable!

Despite the trauma of partition, accompanied as it was by the most horrifying communal riots in which lakhs of innocent men, women and children perished, it is a tribute to the enlightenment of our leaders and the inherent good sense of our people that we adopted a Constitution based upon complete equality for all religions, and that we have in fact been able to create a functioning secular democracy. It is true that our secularism is by no means fully successful, and that communal riots continue to throw their baneful shadow over our body politic. It is also true that our law enforcement authorities are often unable to give protection to the victims of communal fury. And yet I submit that it would be wrong for us to get caught up in a paroxysm of self-denigration and join in the chorus of the prophets of doom who claim that there has been no progress in India since Independence. The fact is that India is one of the

few genuinely free multi-religious societies in the world, providing to fully one-seventh of the human race opportunities for complete religious liberty.

Communalism, however, persists. In many ways, of course, it is inevitable that in a vast multi-religious nation like ours each religious community should seek to follow its own customs and rituals. This is by no means unhealthy; indeed, like some vast multi-coloured tapestry, the different religious traditions of India add to the richness of our total national personality. The danger arises only when commitment to the particular community to which we happen to belong is distorted into a narrow sectarianism that gives rise to suspicion and animosity against other religions and caste groupings. It is then that the broad stream of religion and philosophy gets broken up into narrow, constricted channels in which all sorts of distasteful and malodorous infections flourish.

As I see it, there are only two answers to communalism. One is to eschew religion altogether. Although this may appear an attractive solution to some, it would really be rather like cutting off the head to cure a headache. Religion is woven deeply into the texture of our consciousness, and indeed the extraordinary challenges of the nuclear age, with its unprecedented scientific and technological progress accompanied by psychological stresses unknown in any previous era of human history, seem to be driving more and more people throughout the world to seek once again in spiritual values an inner equilibrium from which they can better face the ordeal of change that is upon them. Outworn dogmas, empty rituals and absurd superstitions that have long masqueraded under the cover of religion are certainly collapsing, as indeed they must. But the eternal yearning of the human spirit for peace and certitude has, if anything, grown deeper with the breakdown of the comfor-

table security that used to be provided by traditional religious formulations. What is needed, therefore, is a bold restatement of religious and spiritual ideals in terms of the nuclear age rather than an attempt to abolish religion itself.

If religion is to remain, as it must, the only other way of ending communalism lies in a proper understanding of the purposes of religion. The *Mundaka Upanishad* has a beautiful *mantra* which can be translated thus:

> "As flowing rivers, from wheresoever they may arise, merge into the same ocean casting off name and form, so do the knowers, from wheresoever they may come, attain to the same Supreme Divinity, freed from all limitations."

If we look upon all religious disciplines as so many different paths to the same goal, the animosity which obscurantism and ignorance encourages will automatically fall away. If we can have the good sense to appreciate that our own religion by no means possesses a monopoly of wisdom, and that every religion seeks to enshrine in its own way the same essential quest for truth and spiritual sustenance, our attitude towards other religions will necessarily become more enlightened. Even at the risk of repeating a cliche, it needs to be pointed out that the Rig Vedic dictum, "The Truth is one, the wise call it by many names", remains valid.

It is those blinded by a narrow-minded fanaticism, which leads them to the absurd conviction that they alone are the repositories of truth and wisdom, who are mainly responsible for the suspicion and mistreatment of people belonging to other communities. Fanaticism and ignorance go well together, and are invariably accompanied by an utter lack of spiritual experience. Indeed, it is an almost mathematical dictum that fanaticism varies in inverse pro-

portion to the degree of spiritual realization. At its deepest, religion is an uplifting, a widening, a maturing phenomenon. The mystics of all the world's great religions are bound to each other by that deepest of all links—spiritual experience. It is the integral concept of religion, therefore, that has to be reiterated and made part of our educational system and our national life if the virus of communalism is to be finally destroyed. Unless this is done no amount of mere legislation or administrative precautions will really solve this vexing problem of communalism that remains one of free India's greatest challenges.

If this thesis is accepted, the question arises as to what concrete steps should be taken to introduce into our national consciousness this broader concept of religion so that the narrower formulations gradually lose their hold over the minds of our people. As I have said, we start with the tremendous advantage that our predominant religion has as its basic philosophical foundation the acceptance of all religions as different paths to the same goal. This by itself, however, is not enough. Action is required on two different levels.

First, within our various religions themselves a campaign has got to be launched to broaden the outlook of priests and others connected with formulating opinion within each community. This will not be an easy task, because unfortunately the priestly class in any religious community is not necessarily the most enlightened. Nevertheless, a major campaign has to be launched in this regard by the more active and emancipated sections of religious thought. Specially within Hinduism there is need for the setting up of a chain of centres for the purpose of training *pujaris* in the correct method of conducting worship, using Sanskrit and creatively interpreting religious texts. In the process, a valuable effort can be made to inject into their thought

processes the broader interpretation of religion that I have mentioned above.

The second sphere of action concerns our educational system. While overtly religious instruction cannot be undertaken by Government, to argue therefrom that no spiritual values can or should be taught would be tantamount to throwing out the baby along with the bath-water. Indeed, the concepts of the spiritual unity of all mankind and the essential unity of all religions have got to be built into our educational system if the minds of our younger generations are to be creatively influenced. This aspect has not received the attention that it deserves, and in my view this has been one of the main reasons that despite two decades of freedom the communal virus presents in our body politic.

To sum up, therefore, the answer to communalism lies not in the impossible task of abolishing religion but in a broader and more enlightened interpretation of the religious concept and its active propagation within religious communities and in our educational system.

THE 'SEVENTIES: EMANCIPATION DECADE

THE DECISION TO extend for another ten years from 1970 the special reservations provided in our Constitution for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is to be welcomed, because twenty years have not been enough to undo the grave wrongs that have been inflicted by society upon millions of people for many centuries. While there has certainly been unprecedented progress in the eradication of untouchability since Independence, it is also true that it persists in our body politic, particularly in the rural areas, and there is therefore every justification to extend the constitutional reservations for another decade.

It is necessary, however, that during the course of this decade a concerted effort is made on a national scale once and for all to root out from our society the poison of untouchability. It is extremely important that we should not allow ourselves to be lulled into inaction merely because we have extended the reservations, and indeed the social conscience of the nation must be aroused so that by the end of the next decade the very necessity for reservations disappears. We must remember that the whole purpose of the reservations should be to integrate the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the mainstream of society, rather than to perpetuate these unfortunate social distinctions.

It is a curious phenomenon that the tremendous urge for social emancipation and reform that characterized the early stages of our national movement, and that was considered by Gandhiji to be so important a part of the Congress programme, should have faded away after Independence so that such activities are today confined either to official social welfare departments or to a few voluntary associations

working in specialized fields. One of the reasons for this may, ironically enough, be the vast amount of social welfare legislation passed in the Centre and the States over the last two decades which, along with the special safeguards enshrined in our Constitution, have lulled us into a sense of complacency with regard to this vital issue. This is an unsatisfactory situation, and we require a new upsurge of mass interest in social emancipation during the next decade. Our growing economic prosperity will lose much of its meaning if we allow vast pockets of society to remain in a position of being socially ostracized, as the continued practice of untouchability is an outrage against one of the fundamental tenets of our culture—the spiritual unity of the human race.

After my confrontation with the Shankaracharya of Puri in Patna this whole question of untouchability received renewed attention, and there was a great deal of debate and protest in Parliament and several State legislatures. This was also discussed in the General Body meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, on which occasion I put forward certain suggestions for follow-up action. Briefly, I would suggest a four-point programme:

(1) The 'seventies must be accepted as the Emancipation Decade, during which a concerted effort should be made at all levels finally to uproot the social evil of untouchability.

(2) The Prime Minister should take the initiative in calling a national convention for the eradication of untouchability, to which representatives of all political parties, State governments and voluntary associations should be invited. As all political parties pay at least lip service to the necessity for eradicating untouchability, it should be possible to achieve a national consensus on this

issue rather than involve it in party controversies. The Congress, however, which has historically been the spearhead of the social reform movement ever since its inception, must take the lead in this matter.

(3) A task force should be organized to implement within the next decade the programme drawn up by the national convention. Necessary funds for this purpose in the Central and State budgets should be provided. and a corps of dedicated workers established whose job it will be over the next ten years to take the fight against untouchability to every village and mohalla in India.

(4) Special programmes must be developed in our educational system so that the youth of the nation is correctly educated with regard to this vital aspect of our national life. Particularly at high school and college levels, there must be programmes which will ensure that the younger generations, who are necessarily the builders of future India, emerge cleansed from contamination by archaic and outdated sociological attitudes. I was rather surprised to learn recently that within the scheduled castes themselves a certain degree of untouchability is practised. This also must receive adequate attention.

At present juncture, when the Congress is poised to enter a new dimension of political dynamism and national reconstruction, I would urge that the final battle against untouchability should be joined immediately and carried to a successful conclusion by the end of the next decade. In the Congress ideology of national unity, socialism, secularism and social emancipation, the eradication of untouchability, not only in practice but from the minds and hearts of our people, must receive very high priority.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AS A SPIRITUAL EXERCISE

It is my firm conviction that the spiritual quest cannot be divorced from the totality of our being and that, if one makes this quest the central purpose of one's life, it becomes necessary to involve in it all aspects of human activity howsoever unspiritual they may appear. It is generally felt that politics, with its manifold involvements and unavoidable compromises, represents the antithesis of spirituality, but our whole ancient tradition refutes this contention. As our revered ex-President Dr. Radhakrishnan said recently, the Indian ideal in politics has always been men like Sri Krishna and Janaka who, while actively involved in politics and Government, never lost sight of the broader and deeper spiritual goals.

In this whole context I found my recent election campaign extremely interesting. It was in a way something new to me, because though I have been involved in public affairs for the last eighteen years my position remained till recently an insulated one. In my tours and public speeches as Governor, extensive though they were, there was always a sense of separateness which arose from my constitutional restrictions. This time the situation was entirely different, for I stood among the people as one of them, seeking a mandate and a vote of confidence. It was a stimulating experience, and in many ways a humbling one.

I campaigned for twelve days, addressing as many as eighteen public meetings in a single day. The constant swirl of humanity, the shouting of slogans, the welcome orations and my own speeches all merged in my consciousness as

a single unforgettable experience. I noticed that after a while the dust and the clamour lost their harshness, and I felt a curious sense of detachment in the midst of all this activity. I tried throughout to remind myself of the deeper spiritual quest, of which an involvement in public life is only an aspect and a symbol. The eye of the storm, it is said, is calm and peaceful. It was a fascinating exercise to try and recreate this internally amidst the sound and the fury of an election campaign.

The constant movement in a jeep from one place to another added to the curious texture of this experience. It was almost as if the brief stops on the roadside symbolized the essential transience of human life, the cosmic cycle within which our lives are so many halting places on the highway to the eternal. One afternoon, as my wife and I drove along through the mountains, a patch of cloud covered the sun and as if by magic the scene was transformed. The rays of the sun shot out in all directions in platinum splendour, while the cloud itself shone with an unearthly brilliance. It was a moment which will remain deeply etched in my memory, and the magnificent words of the Upanishad came to my mind –

Hiranmayēna pātrēna satyasyāpihitam mukham

"The face of truth is hidden with thy shining orb."

And then there were the people–men and women, old and young, boys and girls, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims; people in their thousands cheering or sitting in silence listening to me. It was a deeply moving experience to see humanity in the mass, to feel the beat of life that I had missed within the portals of Raj Bhavan.

Near the ancient Shiva temple at Billawar, built many

centuries ago, an old woman lives in a small room. She is said to be over a hundred years old, and it was apparently her keen desire that I should pay her a visit. When I went to her hut she received me with such warmth and affection that I was rendered speechless. Then again, at one of the public meetings an ex-serviceman, over ninety years old with his medals proudly dangling from his tattered coat, came up and to my embarrassment insisted on touching my feet.

On these and dozens of other occasions I thought to myself—how will it ever be possible for me to fulfil the hopes and aspirations that these people have, how will I be able to repay their love and confidence? They live in want and often dire poverty, yet their hearts are filled with generosity seldom found in our more affluent city-dwellers.

Young people made up a large part of the audience. In their eyes I seemed to see a vision of a new India, an India free from want and poverty, an India in which the welfare of the mass goes hand in hand with the enrichment of the individual, an India in which a reverence for the old merges with a mastery of the new, an India in which are fulfilled the prayers of our ancestors and the aspirations of generations yet to be born. And this, in the last analysis, is what links politics with the deeper quest. Every man is alone, but yet he has to live in his time and in his country, and if he can help build a better nation, does not that in itself mark an essential aspect of his inner fulfilment?

Thousands of years ago the *Ishāvāsya Upanishad* said:

Kurvannēvēha karmāni jijivishēt shatam samāh

"Verily, performing works in this world, one should wish to live a hundred years." And yet this world itself is not something separate from the divine:

Ishāvāsyamidam sarvam yat kincha jagatyām jagat

"Verily, it is the Divine that inhabits this universe, whatever moves in this moving world."

Man is thus the golden link between the world and the spirit, and to fulfil himself he must merge the two in the crucible of his inner consciousness. This, to my mind, is the only true rationale for entering upon a political career.

THE MISSION OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Why is it that India survives through the centuries, through the ages, when many other great civilisations that have arisen, in the long and tortuous course of human history, have fallen by the wayside? There have been other great civilisations; there was Greece, and Rome, there was Babylon, there was the great civilisation of Central and South America. But today those civilisations live on only in their ruins, or in the four walls of museums or in the minds of scholars. But India, despite a million shocks and a million tribulations, despite upheavals that would have shattered many a lesser civilisation, continues to retain its living and glorious link with the very dawn of history. What is the reason for this? It seems to me, looking back on the long vista of Indian history, that the main reason is that whenever the light in this country has threatened to go out, whenever dark clouds of ignorance or disaster have gathered menacingly over India, there have always been born great men and women who have rekindled the light and the hope of this nation. This is true not only in the dark depths of that Ashtami when Sri Krishna was born amidst the terror and the horror of Kamsa's reign; but also throughout the long vista, a Buddha is born, a Shankara is born, great saints and devotees are born in different parts of the country. And at the very moment when it appears that once and for all India is going to be extinguished these people come and reilluminate our minds. They rekindle that Eternal Faith that has been burning in India ever since the dawn of our history. I think that you will agree that this is the main reason why India has survived while all other

great civilisations of the world have shattered and fallen by the wayside.

One such moment in India's history was in the middle of the 19th century. After 1857, the last spark of resistance to alien rule had been stamped out. And India lay crushed and broken at the feet of her foreign conquerors. At that time, it was a subjugation, not merely political or military, but even more so, spiritual and intellectual. India had begun not only to lose faith in herself, but to decry her own past and her own tradition. There was an intellectual and spiritual void in this country. And it appeared that after surviving for so many thousands of years India was at last ready to fall and to pass on into the history of ruined civilisations.

But what happened again in the 19th century? As you are aware, at that very moment, when the night was the darkest, at that very moment when there seemed to be no hope whatsoever for a revival, a resurgence, in fact, began. And that resurgence, as you are aware, began first in Bengal, which was the province which the British first conquered, the province which felt the impact of British rule earlier than the rest of India. It is a magnificent story, the story of the Indian Renaissance, beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founding of the Brahmo Samaj, later the Adi Brahmo Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj of India, led by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen, then the founding of the Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra by Ranade and Bhandarkar, then the founding of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab by that human dynamo, Dayananda Saraswati, and so on, a number of reform movements spread across the country. The Theosophical Society also did a great deal to bring about a resurgence in ourselves. But, all these, in a way, were peripheral to the mainstream of Hindu Thought and Hindu Tradition. A real

revolution in this country required a revolution in the centre. A revolution merely in the periphery was not enough. And this revolution took place, revolved around one of the greatest men that the world has ever known, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

It was an astounding phenomenon how Sri Ramakrishna, an untutored, unlettered person from a village, came to Calcutta and became a spiritual beacon for millions; how by the force of his unique Sadhana, his unique Siddhi, he was able to attract to his feet the greatest intellectuals and the greatest politicians of the day; and how Sri Ramakrishna at Dakshineswar became a flaming beacon of Light and Hope in the midst of the darkness that at that time pervaded India. It is a fascinating story, this of Sri Ramakrishna, into which I will not today go. I am sure all of you are aware of it. But the point that I wish to make is that Sri Ramakrishna represented a new Spiritual Resurgence in this country. And among the many great and humble people that he attracted to his feet was one Narendranath Datta, who was later to become famous the world over as Swami Vivekananda.

Swamiji's life was a brief one. He lived for only 39 years. And yet what a magnificent achievement there was in this short period! His life is exciting and interesting: his early boyhood, his meeting with the Master, his discipleship, then after the passing away of Sri Ramakrishna, his wandering the length and breadth of India mingling with princes and with paupers and getting an idea of the requirements and the needs of this nation, then his historic triumph in the West, the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, which by the sheer force of his personality he was able to dominate, and then further, his work in the USA and in England, his triumphant return to India, his lectures from Kanyakumari to Kashmir which inspired and revivified this nation, his

founding and consecration of the Belur Math and finally his passing away, his Maha Samadhi, in 1902, leaving behind him a glorious, and a unique chapter in the history of India.

Swami Vivekananda achieved in a very short span of time a virtual restatement of Hinduism to meet the requirements of his age. As I have said earlier, this restating of eternal truths has been the key to the continuance and the subsistence of India. The truths remain the same because they are Eternal. If there is a spiritual truth, it cannot change from age to age or from time to time. But what can change and what does change is the statement of that truth, the presentation of that truth, to meet the requirements of different eras. And Swami Vivekananda, almost single-handed, was able to achieve a complete restatement of Hinduism to meet the requirements at the end of the 19th century. And his message was to a very large extent responsible for bringing about a resurgence which took various shapes, including the great political movement. Today his message is needed more than ever before; because today, although we have achieved political freedom, we are nevertheless again facing an intellectual and spiritual void. The old is breaking, and passing away never to return, the new is yet to be born, and our generation finds itself precariously poised between these two, groping for a new integration, for a new vision, for a new way of integrating the problems that face us. At a time like this, I think the message of Swami Vivekananda can be extremely valuable, extremely useful, to us. And therefore this morning I will try and place before you, as I see them, some of the salient features of Swamiji's teachings.

Swamiji once wrote that his ideal can be put into a few words. And that is to preach unto mankind their divinity and how to make it manifest in every moment of life. This

was his basic message. There are many facets of his teachings. I think the first is the Unity of all Religions. Not merely tolerance of religions—I would like to make this point, because tolerance is essentially a negative attitude. Tolerance merely means the absence of opposition. That is not what he preached. His was a positive acceptance of the unity of all religions. He was preaching the old Rig Vedic dictum:

Ekam Sat Viprah Bahudha Vadanthi

Or the *Mundaka Upanishad*:

Yathaa Nadyah Syandamaanaah Samudre
Astam gacchanti Naamaroope Vihaaya
Tathaa Vidwaan Namaroopaad Vimuktah
Paraat Param Purushamupaiti Divyam

"As streams arising from different parts of the country find their way ultimately to the same ocean, so do the various religions that have arisen here and throughout the world lead ultimately to the same spiritual goal."

This was something that Swamiji taught, not merely as an intellectual exercise, but, born out of deep conviction and deep realization, because you will recall that Sri Ramakrishna in the course of his unique Sadhana had actually experienced the unity of various religions. He had lived for several days as a Mussalman and had had a vision of a divine personage who, he thought, was the Prophet of Islam. He had lived as a Christian and had a vision of the Christ of Christianity. And so the unity of religions preached by Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda was not merely something that is politically advantageous just because we happen to have a lot of non-Hindus in this country (that is the way in which many people preach secularism today). That was not their secularism. It was a

glowing and dynamic unity of Religions. And I think that this is something, which today we must once again realise. All too often, we take what we call a secular stance because we feel that it is politically necessary to do so. Politically, India is inhabited, apart from the Hindus, by many crores of Mussalmans, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains and so on. I do not think that is a correct attitude. There may be a narrow political advantage, but the real attitude is to accept the unity of the goal of all religions and this is to my mind one of the most important teachings of Swami Vivekananda.

The second aspect is the divinity of man. Now the Divinity of God is not a very novel concept, because, after all, if there is a God, he is bound to be divine. There is nothing very special about it. But what do the Vedas and the Upanishads preach us? They preach the divinity of man. The Upanishads have a wonderful term for the human race: *Amruthasya Puthra* (Children of Immortality). What an extraordinarily bold and powerful concept this is! That every human being born into this planet, whether he is rich or poor, whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or is belonging to any other faith, whether he is born in India or in the Antarctic or any other part of the world, he is a Child of Immortality! Immortality is his birthright. This is something which Swamiji always used to stress. And he always used to say that it is not merely the rich, or people belonging to a community or caste that must be considered divine, but it is the entire mankind. And this concept of the divinity of man, therefore, cuts across all creeds, cuts across all nationalities and embraces within its ambit the entire human race.

Closely flowing from this concept of the divinity of man is the dignity of the individual. Swamiji had a deep agony at the suffering that was present at that time in India. And

he often used to say that religion is not for empty bellies; that if you want a person to be religious, you must first of all feed him at least to the minimum necessary, you must clothe him, you must house him. Then only can you expect him to really start thinking about the things of the Spirit. Here again Western commentators often make a serious mistake. They think that Hinduism teaches poverty and renunciation and, therefore, there is no impetus, there is no incentive to economic development. This is complete nonsense, if I may say so. The poverty that Hinduism teaches is a voluntary renunciation—is the poverty of a Buddha who gave everything up in order to become poor. It is not a hereditary poverty. It is not that every one should be born poor and, therefore, every one will get spiritual bliss. It all seems self-evident to us. But I have heard a number of Westerners, and even a number of Indians, say 'Look, Hinduism preaches poverty.' It is a voluntary poverty. And you cannot be voluntarily poor unless first of all you are rich. For a man who is born poor, for a beggar, there is no spiritual advantage in his poverty. Therefore, Swami Vivekananda always used to stress the dignity of the individual. And this dignity of the individual cuts across all the ridiculous taboos and superstitions that went by the name of Hinduism at that time and that still to some extent deface and disfigure the features of India. For example, the whole question of untouchability. If there is divinity in every man, by what reasoning, by what logic, by what intellectual gymnastics, is it possible for us to say that a certain person is untouchable and that by touching him or by allowing him into the temple you profane and you spoil the temple into which he enters? I think that there can be no greater aberration of the spirit of the Vedas and Upanishads than this. And Swamiji used to say that if your religion is such a weak and paltry thing that it gets

broken by touching, let it break; the sooner this sort of kitchen religion breaks and shatters to the ground, the sooner will India regain her strength and her pristine glory. This is something which Swamiji constantly preached. Again this ridiculous belief that existed at that time, of 'Prayaschitta'! There was a time in India when people went abroad and carried the message of India to the four corners of Asia; and then there came a time when if anybody went to England, before he was received back into his community, he had to go through this 'Prayaschitta' in order to wash away the pollution that he was supposed to have gathered abroad. What greater contrast could there be between the bold, all-inclusive aspect of Hinduism and these narrow superstitions and dogmas that have defaced the name of Hinduism through the ages! So Swamiji thundered against these. He was the greatest critic of a great deal of what goes by the name of Hinduism; because anything that went against his concept of the dignity and divinity of the individual was anathema to him.

Following again from this is the whole concept of service to society. He did not merely believe in a personal salvation, up in the mountains of the Himalayas. But he felt that it is by service of the Daridranarayana, by the service of suffering humanity that one's personal Sadhana can also develop. And that is why he founded the Ramakrishna Mission which until this very day is performing extremely valuable service not only in India but throughout the world. Now this is a very important problem also, because there are many of us who are often tempted to leave the bustle, the heat and the struggle of active involvement and to go away into the beautiful calm of the Himalayas and to sit there and meditate upon the Eternal. I happen to come from the Himalayas incidentally and therefore I know perhaps more than most of you in the audience the tremendous

attraction that the mountains have. Unless you have lived in the mountains, unless you have been born there and brought up there, it is difficult to appreciate the special quality, the special magnetism that the mountains have. And it is difficult, therefore, to appreciate the extent of the conflict that often arises between involvement and withdrawal. But Swamiji did a unique thing. He combined the intense activity of the West with the deep meditation of the East and he put before us a glowing synthesis of the two. He showed us that in order to achieve our own spiritual development it was not necessary to go out into the Himalayas; it was necessary rather to alleviate the suffering of the masses of India. And this concept, I think, is as valid today, if not more, as it was when he first expounded it.

Then again—and this is also an important facet of his teaching—his deep and glowing love for India. When he swam across the small stretch of ocean at Kanyakumari and sat on the rock at the feet of Mother India where three oceans mingle and he looked up at this great and magnificent country that has nurtured our race for thousands of years, he had a vision of India that was reborn, spiritually, economically, politically, an India that was resurgent, an India in which the suffering and the misery of lakhs of people would be alleviated, an India in which everybody would be proud to call himself an Indian. That was the vision that he saw. And that was the vision that throughout his lectures in the length and breadth of this country he tried to give to the people of India.

Today, I think, that is required even more than before, because, although we have achieved political freedom, we often find petty loyalties rising to the fore; petty regionalism and linguism and casteism and political schisms combine to shatter the unity of India that has been won after such

great struggle and such great sacrifices. People talk of the North and the South and the East and the West and they talk of their own smaller loyalties, but how many people are there who talk of this glowing vision of a united and dynamic India that Swami Vivekananda put before us?

I am not one of those who decry the importance of region or of language in our lives. Certainly it is there; it has its place, but its place is not a predominant one. Its place must be subordinated to the greater good of this nation of ours. Today, there are signs again that the vision of Swami Vivekananda is beginning to fade; there are signs that the unity of this great nation from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Dwaraka to Kamarup is once again being threatened—this time not so much by an external enemy as by our own internal weaknesses and our own internal schisms. I think the vision that Swami Vivekananda had of India requires to be reiterated again and again so that we can place before ourselves this ideal of a united India.

And his vision even transcended India, because he was no mere narrow chauvinist. He felt that a free India had a duty not only to itself but also to the entire world community. All the great thinkers in India have felt that—Swami Vivekananda, and Sri Aurobindo with his concept of evolutionary spiritualism and the concept that India has a special role to play in the development of the human race, and more lately Jawaharlal Nehru with his emancipated and wide Internationalism. This is a tradition that has been going on in India, because once you accept the divinity of the human race, you are ultimately not able to stop merely at India, because surely those living in Pakistan are also belonging to the same human race, and those living in China also. So despite our political differences, we have got to retain the concept of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* of the world as the single family, and we have got to press for it.

And Swami Vivekananda thought that India has a special destiny in bringing about this world-consciousness.

And in order to achieve all this, what did Swamiji tell us to be? He told us to be strong—not the strength of the Asuras, not the strength of a Hitler or a Mao but the 'Daivic Shakti',—the strength of the spirit, the fearlessness, the *Abhbyata.* Even the Upanishads say: *Nāyamatma Balahinena Labhyaha.* The Atman is not to be attained by the weak. You cannot achieve anything in this life, whether it is material, or whether it is spiritual, if you are weak. So Swamiji taught the doctrine of spiritual strength, the doctrine that physically, intellectually and spiritually we have to be strong. We have got to be strong. Then only, if we are strong only, can we throw off the shackles of foreign rule, and the even more powerful and the more insidious shackles of our own weaknesses, of our own fears, because after all there is nobody and no power that can enslave us if we are free within. This has been demonstrated again and again in the long course of Indian history. And Swamiji in his words of glowing wisdom and power said that if there is anything that makes you weak, it cannot be true. And he wrote at one place: 'And here is the test of truth—anything that makes you weak, physically, intellectually and spiritually, reject as poison. There is no life in it; it cannot be true. Truth is strengthening.'

This is what he taught. And this is particularly what our younger generation have got to learn. I see before me today several young people who are studying here. Swamiji used to say of the youth: We want young Indians with muscles of iron and nerves of steel. And if we wanted them, and if we needed them at the turn of the century, we need them even more today. And the young people in India can do no better than to derive inspiration from the glowing words that Swami Vivekananda preached to us. This to my mind

then, my dear friends, is the message of Swami Vivekananda. This is the vision of that dynamic India. Today, we have got to live up to that.

Are we capable of fulfilling the vision that Swamiji saw, as was said just now? It is not merely enough to deliver lectures or to listen, unless we take a vow that we will try to realize the vision that Swamiji has laid before us. Today is the first of the year. It is as good a day as any for us to rededicate ourselves to the mission that Swami Vivekananda laid before us, the mission of building a new India. Certainly there will be difficulties. It is not an easy path. It is narrow. It is beset with dangers. It is sharp as a razor's edge. But without difficulties, nothing is achieved. And no nation can become great, no people can become great if they do not have within them the power and the wisdom to overcome all difficulties. And, therefore, I will conclude my talk this morning by repeating the great saying from *Kathopanishad* that Swami Vivekananda used to preach, the doctrine of power and wisdom:

Uthishtata Jagrata Prapya Varan Nibodhata,
Kshurasyạ Dhara Nishita Durathyaya Durgam Pathasthat Kavayovadanti

"Arise, awake, and learn by approaching the excellent ones. The wise ones describe that path to be as inaccessible as a razor's edge, which when sharpened is difficult to tread on."

Section – II

TRAVELOGUES

WHATEVER BECAME OF TWELFTH NIGHT?

NEW YORK, OF COURSE, is unique. There may be other cities scenically more beautiful or architecturally more distinguished, but the glass and aluminium canyons of Manhattan epitomize more than any other city the new dimensions of twentieth century living. I spent over a year in New York two decades ago. At that time I had flown out in a lumbering four-engine Skymaster, and it had taken almost two days from Bombay. This time, on Air-India's 'Maharaja' service, the trip took only a few hours. A modern jet liner is one of the most highly researched consumer products of our age, and having taken half a dozen different airlines on this trip I realized more than ever before the tremendously high level of technical competence that has now been built into the international tourist industry. My wife and I covered forty thousand miles around the world in twenty days, chalking up a solid average of two thousand miles a day for three weeks.

On this trip I visited in New York an exhibition of modern art at the American museum, and had my first introduction to kinetic sculpture. The most interesting exhibit consisted of five plexiglass columns, each about 8 feet high, behind which multi-coloured lights traced an intricate, ever-changing pattern of psychedelic luminosity. Sitting opposite this on a low bench, and watching it quietly for a few minutes, one feels a strange sense of unreality seeping into the mind, and is transported partly out of one's self into a different dimension. I suppose this transporting quality is the real essence of any artistic work, and from that standard this 'sculpture' is indeed an artistic triumph. I also saw an unforgettable motion picture, '2001, A Space Odyssey', in

which Director Stanley Kubrik has created virtually a new cinematic vocabulary to deal with the fantastic possibilities —photogenic and philosophical—of outer space. It is a film that will surely go down in history as the first really meaningful attempt to grapple with the staggering implications of outer space and its impact upon our tight little minds. The scenes of outer space can only be described as out of this world, and the theme is handled with a Vedantic nuance which made the film particularly fascinating.

From New York we took a non-stop eleven-hour flight to Buenos Aires, the huge bustling capital of Argentina. Not particularly distinguished as a city for architectural or natural beauty, Buenos Aires is nevertheless a dynamic metropolis which well reflects its role as the capital of South America's most prosperous and powerful nation. The aviation conference I attended was concerned largely with the implications of revolutionary new developments in aircraft design and performance that will be upon us in the early 'seventies. The meetings were held in a brand new conference hall in the heart of the city, the marble flooring of which was as beautiful as it was treacherous. On the very first day the distinguished chief delegate from Belgium came crashing down on a plate glass table, narrowly escaping serious injury.

The real surprise for me in Argentina, however, was an unscheduled visit to its mountain and lake resort of Bariloche in the north-west, set in the stunning beauty of the Andes. The Andes are to South America what the Himalayas are to India, the repository alike of natural beauty and spiritual inspiration. There was something wild about the Andean lake whipped into fury by a brisk wind, on the shores of which our hotel was placed and from our room we got a marvellous view of the surrounding snow-capped peaks. Driving through the mountains I noticed that the Andean peaks were much sharper, almost needle-like, com-

pared with the more gradual slopes to which we in India are accustomed. The resort hotel at Llao Llao (pronounced somewhere in between 'jao jao' and 'lao lao'!) was closed for the winter, but another ski hotel nearby was open and packed with agile young skiers dressed in tight-fitting ski suits and heavy multi-coloured sweaters. Bariloche is almost the exact antipodes of Kashmir, and early September found the Andes deep in winter.

Perhaps the most fascinating of all our flights on this trip was the single-day journey across two continents from Buenos Aires to San Francisco. We flew across vast uninhabited plains, rugged mountains without any trace of vegetation, dazzling white salt flats like giant craters on the moon, occasional patches of chalky blue lake. Of habitation there were few traces apart from the capital cities, and flying thus one realises how sparsely populated this great continent is. Our first stop was La Paz, capital of Bolivia and the highest international airport in the world, which bore a striking resemblance to Ladakh with its naked mountains and rarefied air. A new airport was under construction and even the workers, with whom I chatted amiably in the international language of grin and gesture, looked very Ladakhi with their high cheek bones and the peculiar configuration of their eyes. From La Paz we flew to Lima on the Pacific coast, then to the sweltering equatorial capital of Panama where we changed planes, then to Guatemala, then to Los Angeles and finally, after almost 24 hours in the air, to San Francisco. The flight was a dramatic example of technological progress; a trip that would take weeks—even months—by land was covered in utmost air-conditioned comfort in less than a day. From the bottom of South America to the top of North America, spanning almost half the globe, one can jet through the air with the greatest of ease without a single bump!

San Francisco, situated on a magnificent bay opening onto the mighty Pacific, and, with the great bridge standing as its Golden Gate reflecting the rays of the setting sun, is indeed beautifully set. Architecturally, however, it reflects an uneasy mixture of the old and the new. Looking at it from the bay, on which we had lunch on board a boat, one can see how attractive it must have been before the sky-scrapers began reaching upwards. An attractive feature of the city, in sharp contrast to the straight lines of New York, is that it is built on a series of hills so that one is all the time driving either up hill or down, and in between catching narrow glimpses of the ocean at the end of every street.

San Francisco is the acknowledged hippy capital of the world. We drove past several hippy colonies, and also visited a psychedelic discotheque. A vast hall, filled with several hundred people, resounded with the beat of some of the loudest and fastest music I had ever heard produced by a six-man orchestra playing at one brightly illuminated end. The rest of the hall was in darkness, and on its walls a constant series of images were being projected from a sort of magic lantern, all moving steadily clockwise. Many of the symbols were Hindu, images of Krishna and Shiva; and bearded yogis were interspersed with the faces and torsos of film stars and a fascinating melange of disconnected pictures. All the people in the room had long hair, and the boys invariably wore beards. It appeared as if many of the people were under the influence of some sort of drug, but what struck me most was that despite the bizarre setting there was no atmosphere of violence or tension. The hippies seem on the whole to be a surprisingly gentle race, and it was as if we were witnessing some ancient prehistoric rite in an underground cave.

The whole phenomenon, set as it is in the heart of the affluent society, is strange and thought-provoking. These

people have deliberately turned their backs upon the norms and values of the society in which they live, and are trying to create their own ethos. Despite all its aberrations I think it does reflect the basic human dilemma that, while man cannot live without bread, bread by itself can never satisfy him. It would appear as if a vast inner void has appeared in the heart of western youth, and that they grope towards a new certitude. The old is dead and the new is yet to be born, and they find themselves suspended, as it were, in mid-air without any psychological or spiritual support.

Our next hop was from San Francisco to the islands of Hawaii, specks of land amid the liquid vastness of the Pacific Ocean. The tiny islands receive a million tourists a year, which is five times as many as we get in India. Their whole economy is based upon pineapple and tourists, and I was much impressed by the manner in which they have developed their tourism infrastructure. Sleek new hotels soar upwards into the sky, and the beautiful beaches are thronged with holiday-makers in colourful attire. The history of these Polynesian islands is a fascinating one, and there is little doubt that their culture has deep roots in India although at one remove, because the islands were colonized from South East Asia. Watching the swaying Hawaiian dances one can see clearly that they are a sort of liquefied Bharata Natyam.

One of the highlights of Hawaii is its museum containing some marvellous works of Polynesian art including the magnificent million-feathered cloak of the great Hawaiian King Kamehameha. Another is the Sea Life Park, where dolphins perform an extraordinary variety of tricks and a whale jumps twenty-three feet into the air for its lunch. The Ili Kai hotel, in which we stayed, has a glass elevator which takes one directly from the ground to the thirtieth floor. Riding it at night is a rare experience; as one rises, the

lights of Honolulu emerge out of the darkness, providing an ideal setting for a Hitchcock film. The new shopping centre, with hundreds of shops within a single complex, is a paradise for tourists who originate from affluent societies free from foreign exchange restrictions. For us it is a valuable experience in spiritual discipline; as the poet says, *bazaar se guzra hun, khariddar nahin hun!*

Life is full of odd little coincidences. A quarter of a century ago I acted in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* at my school, and in San Francisco I met after many years a friend who had taken a leading part in this play. It so happened that on this trip I lost twelfth night completely. We flew from Hawaii on the morning of the 12th, but by the time we had covered the eight-hour flight to Tokyo it was already the evening of the 13th as we crossed the international date-line, losing one day in the process. It is an interesting philosophical conundrum as to what exactly happened to the twelfth night. How, let us say, would I have kept a new year resolution to have mushrooms of toast for dinner on the night of 12th October?

The beauty of Japan lies largely outside Tokyo, as I had discovered on an earlier visit. This time the most memorable part of my stay was a morning I spent in a Zen temple. For long I had wanted to make a somewhat deeper study of the relationship between Zen and Vedanta, and I was fortunate to have been put in touch with a young professor of the Tokyo Buddhist University who took me to the Sojiji temple, an hour's drive from the heart of Tokyo. An atmosphere of great calm became evident as soon as we entered the precincts of the temple. It is situated in a vast compound containing several structures including a magnificent new wooden prayer-hall where thousands can congregate, residential quarters for the monks and novices, a library and other academic buildings. We walked around the temple,

and the professor—who had himself spent some time there as a novice—showed me the living quarters, the washrooms and the kitchens, all spotlessly clean. We finally made our way to the meditation room where we sat quietly for an hour and I tried to absorb the living presence of Zen, to understand that which is essentially incomprehensible, to hear the voice of the silence.

The trip back from Tokyo to Delhi was one long series of boardings and disembarkations. Hong Kong, Bangkok, Singapore, Djakarta, Madras and Bombay all flashed past in the strange euphoria which prolonged jet travel induces. On the way we broke journey for a day at Djakarta. It was very warm there, but I also noticed a new warmth of feeling towards India which is a refreshing contrast to the strange hostility evinced by the earlier regime. We finally returned to Delhi on the 19th morning, just in time to face the strike!

It had been a complete circumambulation of the globe, and yet with the new developments in aviation that will be upon us in the 'seventies this trip itself will soon appear obsolete. With our growing knowledge and technical competence, we will soon be jetting around the world faster than the speed of sound. One question, however, remains unanswered. Will mankind develop the wisdom so urgently required if his growing knowledge is to be put to constructive uses? Or, are we now witnessing the last few decades of human life on earth? Will we all disappear as in *Twelfth Night* into a nuclear inferno, or will we hearken to the voice of the silence before it is too late?

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF JAPAN

I HAD OCCASION recently to visit Japan for the first time. The outstanding impression that I formed during a fortnight's stay was of a people endowed with immense dynamism and vitality, enjoying all the benefits of technological affluence but retaining a distinctive quality to their life and culture.

It is common knowledge that the Japanese are economically very advanced, but one is so psychologically conditioned to thinking of Asia as a poor and backward continent that it comes as a refreshing surprise to visit Japan and actually see how an Asian nation has succeeded in breaking the shackles of poverty and taking its place among the most industrially advanced nations of the world.

This is all the more impressive when one realizes that Japan has an area of only about 142,000 square miles, and a population of almost ten crores. What is more, Japan has succeeded in establishing a democratic form of government which, along with our own, is a landmark of democratic functioning in the whole of Asia, and has achieved all this despite a crushing and traumatic defeat hardly two decades ago. The reasons for this clearly lie deep in the history and character of the Japanese people, specially in the extraordinary phase known as the Meiji Restoration which must rank as one of the most remarkable periods in world history. The rule of Emperor Meiji (1867-1912) saw a complete transformation and modernization of the Japanese structure of life and economy.

It was obviously not possible for me in a short visit to study the Japanese experience in any detail, but there are some features by which even a cursory visitor to Japan can-

not fail to be impressed. The first is the physical fitness, vitality and dynamism of the people. I saw hardly a single Japanese who was either over-fat or emaciated, and though short of stature the people seem to have attained a high standard of physical fitness. This is specially marked among the children who are a pleasure to behold—smiling, pink-cheeked, and bursting with enthusiasm and vitality.

The second characteristic is the capacity for hard and disciplined work. I gathered that Japanese office hours are considerably longer than ours, and their discipline is visible even to the casual observer. My visit happened to coincide with the spring vacation, and there were thousands of Japanese school children in all the tourist spots. They are invariably dressed in uniform, the boys wearing black close-collar coats with metal buttons and peak-caps, while the girls are in dark-blue frocks. The manner in which these children march along the streets under the guidance of a leader carrying a coloured flag is quite remarkable. When they are to cross a road they all collect in a disciplined manner, wait for the traffic to stop and then cross swiftly following their leader. This is in marked contrast to the haphazard and lackadaisical manner in which our children roam about the streets. This phenomenon is visible even in the case of groups of elderly village women who are taken around places of historic and religious interest in groups. Buses collect them from their villages, they are taken on a tour under the guidance of a young leader, and then escorted back to their homes. These groups of the very old and the very young were strikingly similar in the quiet and disciplined manner in which they undertook their sightseeing.

I was extremely interested to discover whether modern Japan retains a vital link with its past culture or whether defeat in war and a period of foreign occupation have caused a break in their cultural pattern. I must again admit

that it was difficult for me to form any accurate impression in the space of a fortnight, but I was struck by the fact that the Japanese have retained a very distinctive pattern of culture. This is reflected in the almost exclusive use of the Japanese language at all levels of administration and life, even more so by the superb temples and shrines that are to be found throughout Japan. The two major faiths are Buddhism, which came from India via China and Korea around the middle of the sixth century, and Shintoism which centres on the worship of imperial and family ancestors. These two religions co-exist and often overlap, with many Japanese observing Shinto rites during marriage ceremonies and Buddhist rites during funerals.

I had occasion to visit a number of Buddhist and Shinto shrines in Tokyo, Kamakura, Hakone, and specially in Kyoto, which was the capital for a thousand years from the eighth to the eighteenth century, and the charming little town of Nara which was the first capital of Japan in the seventh century. In marked contrast to many of our own temples specially in North India, Japanese shrines are scrupulously clean and pervaded by a delicious aura of peace and calm. Many of these shrines are placed in huge wooded parks, or nestle on hill sides, and although they may be within some of the most highly populated cities in the world they retain an atmosphere of absolute quiet. A striking example of this is the Meiji shrine in the heart of Tokyo. The shrine grounds in the very centre of the world's largest city occupy an area of about seven lakh square metres, and contain almost one lakh trees of various kinds. Deep within this atmosphere of awe-inspiring solemnity is the main shrine and other buildings. Most Japanese shrines are constructed in wood, and in keeping with the general tradition of Japanese architecture they merge tastefully in the surroundings. Outside every Shinto shrine there is a peculiar gate consisting of two up-

right pillars surmounted by two curved horizontal beams which is a symbol of purification, the idea being that by passing under them one is purified in mind and body before entering the presence of the deity. The Shinto shrines have no statues, and the sanctum sanctorum is a room dimly lit representing the dwelling place of the deity to whom that particular shrine is dedicated.

My most memorable temple visit in Japan took place by chance. We were driving through the beautiful Hakone National Park in fog and rain, when suddenly we came upon a lake with a thickly wooded hill rising out of it. At the foot of this was a Shinto gate standing in solitary beauty, and from there a steep flight of steps led up into the mountain. The prospect was irresistible, so I stopped the car and walked up. About a hundred stone steps led through the thick forest, and huge cedars thrust upwards into sky on either side. It was raining steadily and a translucent fog covered the whole scene. At the top of the steps was another Shinto gate, and then I came suddenly upon a lovely wooden shrine. It was absolutely deserted, but the room inside glowed with the mellow light of paper lanterns exactly as if the deity had just stepped out of the room and was due to return any minute. I stood quietly in front of the shrine, the rain from the roof pattering loudly on my umbrella. All around mighty trees swayed in the wind, but inside the shrine and inside my heart there was absolute peace and stillness.

The Buddhist shrines of course contain statues of the Buddha. The famous Kamakura Buddha which sits in the open looking out onto the sea is over seven hundred years old and fully forty-four feet high. Even more beautiful is the great Todaiji temple housing a magnificent bronze statue of the Buddha 53.3 feet high and weighing nearly five hundred tons. This temple is said to be the largest wooden

structure in the world, and the statue the world's largest bronze. Apart from Buddhist and Shinto shrines many other deities are also worshipped in Japan including the Goddess in various forms. I was particularly interested to visit the Asakusa temple near Tokyo dedicated to Kannon, the Goddess of mercy, who would seem to be comparable to Mahalakshmi.

No article on Japan, howsoever brief, can fail to mention the superb gardens which are among the most beautiful in the world. The whole theory of Japanese garden architecture differs from that of the West, and for that matter from our own tradition of Mughal and other gardens. Whereas we strive for symmetry and geometrical lines, the Japanese gardens are superbly asymmetrical, the attempt being to interfere with nature only as little as is absolutely necessary to give the garden shape and beauty. Thus on entering a Japanese garden one is struck by the great artistry with which the natural configuration of land, water, rock and vegetation is used, and it is only gradually that one realizes the immense effort that must have gone into creating these masterpieces of landscape architecture. The famous gardens of Kyoto are outstanding in this respect, specially the Kinkakuji (golden pavilion) and Ginkakuji (silver pavilion).

I must make special mention of the extraordinary rock garden in Kyoto's Ryoan-ji temple. The main purpose of temple gardens in Japan, particularly those dedicated to the various Zen sects, is to create an atmosphere of calm contemplation which finally leads to *satori* or enlightenment. The Ryoan-ji rock-garden is specially famous in this regard, having been built at the end of the fifteenth century by the famous Zen Master Soami. It consists of a rectangle of pure white sand carefully raked into broad parallel lines, with fifteen rocks of varying sizes placed therein. The only vegetation is a border of moss round the bigger stones and—to

quote 'Meet with Japan', that superb travel book by Fosco Maraini—"its interest lies in the harmony of its spatial relations and the significance of its tactile values. It makes no facile appeal to the senses, and ornament is totally excluded. It is a direct journey into the void from which the all is born . . . ."

Through the centuries observers have claimed to read all sorts of symbolic meanings into this garden. For myself, I was immediately reminded of the photographs taken of galaxies in interstellar space. Each group of rocks appeared to symbolize these mighty galaxies whirling in outer space, and the whole garden thus became a superb symbolic representation of the vast unfathomable universe—*Anadiananta*, without beginning or end—the eternal cosmic being and becoming.

These were my outstanding impressions, of course there were many more—the superb works of art that I saw in Japanese museums which clearly revealed their original Indian inspiration; the dance performances that I witnessed expressing the colourful charm of modern Japan; the glittering variety of consumer goods in the multi-storeyed Japanese department stores; the great friendliness of the Japanese people despite the difficulties of linguistic communication; the superb roads and specially the New Tokaido Line which is the world's fastest railway running smoothly at over 150 miles an hour; a stunning view of Mount Fujiyama from the air, its base covered in an ocean of cloud and its snowy cone glittering majestically against the blue morning sky.

I will close with one general remark. India and Japan today are the leading democracies in Asia, and it is essential that our two countries should get much closer to each other than they are at present. While the original impact of India through Buddhism over a thousand years ago is important, it is not enough merely to depend upon that link. It is essen-

tial that contemporary India and contemporary Japan should collaborate in a large variety of technological, economic, academic and even political undertakings. There is immense goodwill for India in Japan, but I do feel that during the eighteen years of our independence we have not fully taken advantage of this. This deficiency must now be removed, and India and Japan must play their full role in the destiny of Asia and the wider world.

COLOMBIA : A FEW GLIMPSES

Sometime ago I visited the South American republic of Colombia; the continent's third largest nation and the only one with access both to the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. The capital, Bogota, situated at a height of just under 9,000 feet, which is about the same as Gulmarg, is a bustling city of 25 lakhs, set at one end of a large rolling savanna surrounded by mountains. In between official engagements I had occasion to snatch a few hours sight-seeing, and was rewarded with some memorable visits.

Upon landing at the Bogota airport one immediately notices two landmarks on the mountains behind the city, a church and a huge statue, both of which are attractively illuminated at night and stand over the city in dramatic configuration. On a beautiful clear morning I took the ropeway up to the church. As the glass-walled compartment started rising, the city of Bogota spread out below and in the far distance the conical peaks of the greater Andes began to appear. I was particularly struck by the symmetrical beauty of a peak called Tolima, which bears a marked resemblance to Japan's Fujiyama. The ascent of about a thousand feet was swiftly covered, and we stepped out onto the stone-paved courtyard of the church commanding a magnificent view of Bogota city, the valley and beyond it the great peaks covered with eternal snow.

The church itself is fairly small but, apart from its magnificent location, it contains one of the most unusual statues of Jesus that I have ever seen. He is portrayed having stumbled while carrying the cross, bleeding profusely from the wounds inflicted upon Him by his tormentors. The image possesses a stark realism that is quite startling, and apparently it is

widely renowned in the area for its miraculous powers. The origins of this wooden image are unknown, but it was discovered by some native Indians several centuries ago on top of this very mountain. Archaeologists tend to believe that it is a Spanish image which, for some reason, was abandoned by the Spaniards. Be that as it may, I will long remember the eyes of Jesus, showing acute human suffering but yet endowed with a certain divine quality that renders them unforgettable.

After the church we descended the hill by ropeway and visited at its foot Bolivar House where the great liberator spent many of his years with his favourite wife Manuelita. The small house is maintained exactly as it was in his time, and is set in a garden almost Japanese in its beauty and calmness. From Bolivar House we decided, on the spur of the moment, to drive up to the great statue of Virgin Mary standing on an adjoining peak even higher than the church. This is the Virgin of Guadelope who stands with her arms outstretched blessing the city of Bogota. The driver was not sure whether we could take the car right up to the top, but we decided to have a try. As it turned out, the metalled road ended about a mile short of the statue, but the car was able to negotiate the remaining fair-weather track and we finally found ourselves right at the foot of the statue. The place was deserted, with the exception of a couple of dogs and some poultry evidently belonging to the priest who looks after the tiny church nestling in the shadow of the huge image. The white plaster figure itself is tremendous, and the Virgin looks down with features at once strong and serene upon the valley beneath. Sitting at the foot of the statue and looking up at her face I could see white clouds moving against the vastness of the sky, creating the illusion that the whole image was slowly moving forward. Through

a pair of binoculars the hands stretched out in benediction appeared to be almost touching my head.

It was absolutely quiet up on that mountain, and I sat for quite some time looking down at the valley and ruminating upon the eternal mystery that is life; upon the Divine from which creation has sprung and upon Man, who in turn has created so much that is beautiful and so much that is despicable. A curious mixture of the brute and the divine is man, truly an intermediate creature, as Sri Aurobindo has described him. Finally, after several millennia, man's ingenuity is catching up with him. In this nuclear age he has the choice either of unimagined progress or unparalleled destruction, and the die will almost certainly be cast before this century is out. Is there a divine will working behind our endless complexities, and if so in what direction is it leading us? What role does the individual have in influencing the destiny of the race? At that height the air is thinner and clearer, and one's mind also begins to take on something of the serenity and clarity of nature. Being a mountain man myself I always cherished these moments of solitude far above the sphere of our daily activities.

In Bogota city there is a Gold Museum which is certainly unique in the whole world. It consists exclusively of gold artefacts created by the pre-Spanish civilisations that flourished in Colombia over the last several centuries. It is clear that these great 'Indian' civilizations had reached a high stage of artistic development, and they moulded gold with extraordinary facility. The *piece de resistance* of the Museum is right at the end when the visitor walks through heavily guarded doors into an entirely dark room. Suddenly the lights are turned on and one finds oneself entirely surrounded by glass cabinets containing thousands of gold objects beautifully displayed. This room itself contains over

nine thousand exhibits, and the cumulative effect is overwhelming.

Finally, I must describe what was perhaps the most extraordinary of the sights that I encountered in Colombia, the great Salt Cathedral. About 25 miles from Bogota is the town of Zipaquirā and it was here that about two decades ago a brilliant Colombian architect conceived the idea of converting an abandoned salt mine into a cathedral. One drives into the heart of a hill, the lighting and configuration of the passage reminiscent of the Jawahar Tunnel through the Banihal except that here the road turns and twists several times. At the end of the drive one suddenly comes into a vast underground cavern hewn out of the salt mountain into the shape of a mighty cathedral. In the dim light one can see a wooden cross placed above the altar at one end of the cavern, and in front of it the rows of benches quietly await the worshippers. Although it is in the very heart of the mountain the air is fresh and sweet, and the mighty cavern produces a curious aura of mystic silence. It is an ideal place for meditation, and despite its tremendous size it has been so skilfully designed that each person can establish a rapport with the gently luminous cross. By an act of genius a deserted salt mine, which would otherwise have been sealed off and abandoned for ever, has become a centre of pilgrimage and divine communion—a welcome change from the destruction and desecration that our generation is steadily inflicting upon nature in the name of progress!

THE OLD AND THE NEW

Ever since I saw the Elephanta caves first as a young boy, the great Trimurti near Bombay has exerted a powerful attraction for me. I visited it again recently. This gigantic sculpture in solid rock must be among the most magnificent works of art ever produced by the human race, both in conception and in execution. The concept of the trinity is well known throughout gnostic literature, and here we have the ultimate perfection of that idea, the three aspects of divinity—creation, preservation, destruction—merged in one supreme unity symbolizing the ultimate essentially indivisible reality that pervades the cosmos. And with what superb skill and consummate art has this great idea been translated into granite. The Trimurti is almost twenty feet high, but so perfectly proportioned that it is not in the least unwieldy, the two profiles being set back from the main head in such a way that they blend into a single unified image and create a profound harmony.

As one stands inside the cave facing the great sculpture amidst a subtle interplay of light and shadow, there are two overwhelming impressions. First is the immense calm that emanates from the Trimurti, an almost tangible "peace that passeth all understanding". Shiva is engrossed in the mystery and wonder of his own being, and yet appears to survey with a calm and timeless gaze the sea that is visible far on the horizon from within the cave. For centuries, defying the ravages of time and of human vandalism, the Trimurti has exuded a strange aura of peace and quiet that no sensitive observer can fail to notice. Secondly, watching the image steadily for a few minutes it appears as if it is pulsating with inner power, growing and filling all space. So skilfully has

it been sculpted that the illusion of expanding form has been captured for ever, leaving one marvelling at the artistic and spiritual urge that led to the creation of this masterpiece on a tiny island near what must then have been a comparatively deserted coast.

The cave is old, and across the bay there is the new, bustling, dynamic metropolis of Bombay. On the return trip our launch passed the Trombay nuclear energy establishment directly opposite Elephanta. Here again there was a trinity, a modern one of concrete standing like some colossal surrealistic sculpture, formed by the huge oval Canada-India reactor, a smaller round dome behind it and a graceful pylon soaring high into the air. As the launch moves they change their mutual positions, and this imparts a living fluidity and grace to their white geometrical forms. Nuclear energy is the symbol par excellence of the future; if only mankind proves wise enough to fend off a major war it can hold the key to a glorious future for the whole race, to the ushering in of a new dispensation for humanity.

Thus the old and the new confront each other across a brief expanse of water—the ageless Trimurti of Elephanta and the new nuclear "trinity" of Trombay. And yet is there not in fact an essential and living unity between these two? The Trimurti symbolizes the power of the divine from which modern man has tended to become increasingly alienated and few today have the wisdom to derive power and inspiration; the atomic reactors symbolize nuclear power that lay dormant for all these centuries because we did not have the knowledge to utilize it. Are not these two powers in fact the same, or rather two aspects of the same supreme power that transcends all creation and yet permeates every atom of it, the power that our sages referred to when they said—

"Ishāvāsyam idam sarvam yatkincha jagatyam jagat"

"This whole universe and whatsoever exists in it is inhabited by the divine". Vedanta postulates an essential unity pervading the cosmos, and modern science also appears to have rejected the duality of matter and energy and to be moving towards a non-dualistic interpretation of the universe. It is this unity that is symbolised alike in the Trimurti at Trombay and the one at Elephanta.

THE GODS WEAR MANY FACES

One day, when creation was still young and human history had not begun, the great god Zeus let loose two mighty eagles from opposite ends of the world. They met just above Delphi, and there Zeus set down a holy stone from heaven to mark the navel of the Earth. The Greek myth goes on to say that the Delphic oracle, a priestess endowed with divine powers of prophecy through the inspiration of vapours rising from a fissure in the centre of the earth, was established from that very day. Later Delphi became the abode of Apollo, the god of Light, and the oracle came to play a very important role in Greek politics. Several magnificent temples to Apollo were raised against two sheer cliffs known as the Phaedriades, the "shining rocks", and the present ruins date back to the 4th century B.C. Although only a few columns remain standing, there is an atmosphere of mystery and grandeur about Delphi. As I sat on one of the huge stones of Apollo's temple, the valley of Delphi was utterly quiet. Eagles have always been sacred to Apollo, but now, as if translated into modern idiom, two jet planes soared across the sky, tiny specks of movement against the blue infinity.

In the ruined temple of Apollo one can see the rock with three deep hollows upon which stood the trident used by the oracle for her divine but equivocal prophecies. There are many other ancient sites of interest in Delphi; a magnificent stadium which could seat seven thousand persons, an open air theatre for five thousand, and the remains of a circular temple dedicated to the goddess Athena. After a strenuous tour of the ruins the spring of Castalia, which was used in ancient days for purificatory bathing before ascending to

Apollo's temple, offers cold and crystal water reminiscent of the springs of Kashmir. The museum at Delphi contains some of the great masterpieces of Greek art, including the famous bronze charioteer dating back to 475 B.C. and a superb later statue of Antinous, favourite of the Roman Emperor Hadrian.

Our hotel in Delphi was unique, built literally on the face of a steep hill. The entrance and public rooms are at ground level, but all the residential suites are on the cliff side so that each room affords a marvellous view of the valley which sweeps down to the shores of the gulf of Itea. Along the bed of the valley where one would expect a mighty river to flow is a huge grove of olives; as if by some miraculous fiat Apollo had transformed the water into a river of trees. In the late evening and the early morning the valley fills with an aura of mystery, a sacred silence, and one feels an almost tangible presence brooding over this ancient centre of Greek civilization. Here one begins to understand the meaning of the ancient Greek hymn:

The gods wear many faces
And many fates fulfil
To work their will.
In vain man's expectation;
God brings the unthought to be
As here we see.

For me Greece will always remain the land of Pericles and Plato, and I could not suppress a thrill of excitement at my first view of the Acropolis crowned by that miracle of creative architecture, the Parthenon, a temple dedicated to the patron goddess of Athens. The temple at one time enshrined an ivory and gold statue of the goddess Athena sixteen feet high, and at the peak of its glory it must have truly been a sight for the gods. Even today, despite the

vagaries of nature and the vandalism of man over twenty-five centuries, the Parthenon in ruins retains an extraordinary dignity. The symmetry and proportions of its great marble columns(4:7, according to the gnostic formula of the Pythagoreans) give the structure an inner harmony which is felt the moment one steps into the temple. The unending patter of our knowledgeable guide was informative, but I had to ask him to stop when we actually got to the temple. The greatest art is always beyond words, which can often detract from, never add to, its impact.

My wife and I stayed on at the Acropolis until sunset when it is at its most beautiful, the monuments bathed in a rosy hue against the clear Greek sky. After an early dinner at a delightful cafe looking up at the Acropolis, we proceeded to the son-et-lumiere at which the audience is seated on the very spot where twenty-five centuries ago Pericles, the greatest statesman of classical Greece, delivered his immortal oration on the glories of democracy and of Athens, the school of Hellas. The sound and light spectacle itself recreated imaginatively the glory that was Greece, with Athens as its crest-jewel, highlighting its moments of triumph and tragedy.

During the son-et-lumiere one notices sharply another hill to the left, higher than the Acropolis and cunningly illuminated to resemble a mighty crown topped by a glittering jewel. The next evening we went up that hill by funicular railway, and found on top an exquisite little church, the courtyard of which affords a panoramic view of Athens. It was dark by the time we got there, and the city lay at our feet like a carpet of diamonds dominated by the classical beauty of the Parthenon. The museum in Athens contains some great works of sculpture, including a life-size bronze statue of Posiedon, god of the sea, in the pose of hurling a trident, the arms so perfectly balanced as to remind one of

a bird in flight. Also in the museum is the famous bronze statue of the boy of Marathon, its inset limestone eyes with glass pupils giving it an extraordinary sense of being alive.

On the way between Athens and Delphi we took a cruise on the sapphire waters of the Aegean sea, deep blue despite the pale sky. There are few things more restful than a gentle ocean voyage, and our tourist steamer, the Marina, speeded smoothly across the Greek waters. On the cruise we visited two islands. The first was Hydra, a tiny island with a single street on the quay, its shops and houses neatly whitewashed. A message had evidently been sent regarding our visit, and the Mayor of the island (population 2,700) and the Chief of Police (5 constables) were on hand to greet us when we alighted. They took us to the local church with a fine chandelier of which they are justly proud, and plied us with orange juice (Coca Cola is banned in Greece in order to protect their delicious fruit drinks), while a solemn, square-bearded patriarch conversed with us using the Mayor as interpreter. In keeping with their traditional hospitality they repeatedly offered to fire a gun salute in our honour when our boat was to depart—and it was only with the use of much alarmed eloquence that we were able to dissuade them from doing so!

The second island we visited was Aegina, which is somewhat larger and has on its summit the ruins of an ancient temple dedicated to Athena. It was on this island that the Myrmidons, a race of hard-working and valiant Greeks, were created according to the legend by Zeus from a colony of ants, and from whom descended Achilles, the great hero of the Iliad. We passed through the straits of Poros, close to the tomb of the great orator Demosthenes who committed suicide there rather than fall into the hands of the tyrants, and near Salamis which was the scene, many centuries ago, of one of the crucial battles in world history; the naval

engagement in which the Athenian fleet defeated the vastly superior Armada of the Persian Emperor Xerxes. The sea was translucent, tiny flying fish streaking away from our launch for long distances in an ecstasy of abandon. On the cruise, while a contemporary Ganymede served us lemonade, we passed many strange rock configurations, including a series of hills which, looked at together, seem to form the image of a gigantic woman reclining on her back. Greek music was played in the boat, and it often sounded startlingly like a mixture of North Indian folk and South Indian classical music.

Greece is specially interesting as the cradle of Western civilization, much as India is of the eastern. In their periods of glory both saw a multi-faceted flowering of human genius seldom, if ever, excelled in world history; an efflorescence of poetry and literature, sculpture and architecture, drama and philosophy, honour and chivalry. In India is the pursuit of *dharma*, in Greece of *aretē* (excellence); in India is the dominance of the Himalayas glowing with its eternal snows; in Greece the encompassing blue of the Aegean sea glittering with its eternal waves. The gods indeed wear many faces, Greek as well as Indian, but through all of them streams forth the same cosmic vision that fuses past and future in the crucible of the eternal present.

Section – III

YOUTH

THE CONGRESS AND THE POST-INDEPENDENCE GENERATION

I DEFINE THE POST-INDEPENDENCE generation as one which attained maturity after the country had achieved freedom in 1947. As the minimum voting age in our Constitution is 21, the post-independence generation today would cover the age group between 21 and 40. It is not often realized that this generation tends to have a markedly different approach to political problems compared with those who were actually involved in the freedom struggle. For persons like me the mighty movement for national independence is a glorious and stirring chapter in our history, but nevertheless something belonging distinctly to the past. Even Gandhiji is gradually becoming a semi-mythical figure, because we were never directly exposed to his remarkable personality. The absence of participation in the freedom struggle certainly deprived us of an uplifting and ennobling experience, but in compensation it perhaps gives us a somewhat fresher and more modern approach to national problems.

In the general elections of 1967 the post-independence generation provided a significant segment of voters, and in each succeeding election their proportion will rapidly increase. If the Congress is to remain a party with a mass base it is essential that special attention be paid towards attracting to its ranks younger people from all walks of life. I am a new-comer to the Congress myself, but as an observer of the political scene and a participant in public life for almost two decades from the age of 18, it is clear to me that one of the greatest weaknesses of the Congress today lies in its inability to involve the younger generation

in the exciting task of nation-building and tap the vast reservoir of energy and idealism that it possesses.

Ours is a country inhabited by fully one-seventh of the human race. For India we can postulate no ideal short of a great power status; and I use this term not in any chauvinistic spirit but in the sense of a nation endowed with the economic strength and political cohesion that will enable it to take its place among the great powers of the world. There are many components of this greatness, but one essential and inescapable factor will be the capacity to enthuse and mobilize our youth. Today there is widespread cynicism and frustration among the young, and as far as the Congress Party is concerned its youth movement seems to have failed to instil idealism among them. This is a danger signal, because any party—howsoever distinguished its past—is doomed to extinction if it loses touch with the thinking and aspirations of the nation's youth.

We live in a rapidly moving age of science and technology, and the speed of change has so increased that the differences of outlook and thinking between generations have become much wider than before. As our responses are to a considerable extent conditioned by the technological environment in which we live, it is inevitable that this divergence of outlook between the generations will tend progressively to increase. The impact of science and technology on a traditional society sets up tensions which are vividly reflected in the alienation between the generations. In these circumstances a mass party such as the Indian National Congress can neglect this aspect of national life only at grave peril. I do not propose here to enter into details regarding the manner in which the Congress could function among the youth, but will only state the broad principles upon which I feel these activities should be based. The human personality is perhaps the most complex

and sensitive mechanism that has ever existed, and its requirements have to be tackled on a multi-dimensional basis. In my view the Congress youth programme must revolve around urban and rural youth centres, based upon an integrated vision which takes the following aspects into consideration:

a) *Physical Development*

Building the new India of our dreams is no task for the weak in body. Jawaharlal Nehru once said that he belonged to a generation condemned for life to hard labour. This is equally true today when we are seeking to build a new society and a new nation. Physical fitness is an essential aspect of youth welfare, and the Congress Youth Centres must provide adequate facilities for sports and physical training. This need not involve any expensive and sophisticated equipment, and there is no reason why we cannot develop and propagate widely a system of physical education drawing both upon foreign as well as indigenous experience.

b) *Intellectual Development*

In this technological age we can no longer afford the luxury of mediocrity, and our youth must be helped to equip themselves intellectually to the fullest so that they can contribute more effectively to the process of nation-building. Although this will primarily be the responsibility of our educational institutions, Congress Youth Centres must also provide literature and lectures which will strengthen the intellectual equipment of our younger generation, make them more aware of their responsibilities as free citizens of an open society, and instil in them a genuine regard for the value of intellectual endeavour. Added to this could be programmes of music, dance and drama which would add a much needed aesthetic dimension to our new society.

c) *Moral Development*

When I speak of morality in this context I refer not so much to the traditional and somewhat puritanical connotation of the term, but rather to that wider and deeper morality which revolves around a fundamental commitment to certain ideals. There is a great deal of talk about national integration and unity, but these will remain mere slogans unless they are forged in the minds and hearts of our younger generations. It is only if our youth is imbued with a deep love for the nation that they will be able to resist the pervasive forces of corruption and opportunism in the country and emerge as highly motivated citizens. Our Youth Centres must, therefore, act as vital and pulsating centres for spreading a renewed sense of patriotism among the younger generation based upon the ideals of national unity, secularism, democratic socialism and human brotherhood.

d) *Spiritual Development*

It has become fashionable to decry any talk of religion in the context of political activity, and certainly religion, wrongly understood and mistakenly applied, has caused immense misery and suffering to the sub-continent. And yet the keystone of religion – which to my mind lies in the reaffirmation of the divinity inherent in man and the validity of the individual spiritual quest – forms a vital factor in future human development which we can neglect only at the cost of losing touch with the very essence of the human personality. One of the main reasons for the alienation of our youth today is this lack of any spiritual ideal, and unless this can be re-established in a manner which cuts through the miasma of superstition and fanaticism that have disgraced the name of religion over the centuries, our nation will never become truly great. Indeed mankind must

gradually move towards the ideal of human unity if it is to survive at all in this nuclear age, and this can only be built upon the acceptance of the divinity of the individual regardless of caste or colour, race or creed, religion or nationality. This spiritual humanism, which is such a fundamental factor in our own cultural heritage, must spread among our younger generations if they are to become not merely good citizens of the world's greatest democracy but true world citizens as well.

A network of Congress Youth Centres functioning in this broad conceptual framework can be expected, over the years, gradually to win back for the party the affection and allegiance of our youth. The stakes are high, involving nothing less than the very subsistence of the party itself over the next two or three decades. This question must be given the highest priority. I suggest that the Congress should set up a small Working Group to formulate concrete proposals for a comprehensive youth programme. With due respect to our elders, I would add that it may be desirable if this group itself were to consist of some younger people who might perhaps be expected to have a warmer appreciation of youthful aspirations.

YOUTH AND THE TASKS AHEAD

THE ROAR OF THE cannon has been muted, and for the time being at least an uneasy cease-fire prevails. We have faced a grave challenge to our national security with courage and dignity, and have succeeded in attaining our military objective of effectively countering Pakistani aggression thereby confirming the superiority of a secular democracy over a theocratic dictatorship. Nevertheless, there is no room for complacency as the situation continues to be grave, and it is therefore the duty of each one of us to remain vigilant and alert to help safeguard national honour and integrity. This becomes even more essential in the light of the extraordinary Chinese antics, which are obviously devised in close co-ordination with Pakistan. We thus face a dual challenge aimed ultimately at the destruction of our freedom itself. This freedom was won at great struggle and sacrifice after centuries of servitude to foreign rule, and it is important that those of us who belong to the post-independence generation should not fall into the error of taking our freedom for granted. The maintenance and strengthening of freedom is a task even more onerous than its attainment.

In any nation the youth necessarily forms the vanguard in most spheres of activity, and it is essential that at this critical juncture its power must be mobilized further to strengthen our integrity and our capacity to resist aggression. What is required is an immense burst of idealism and energy among our youth, who must be deeply committed to the task of safeguarding this great nation of ours founded on the twin ideals of secularism and democracy. In particular our young men and women studying in colleges and univer-

sities have a special responsibility, for while they are no longer children they have yet not got fully involved in the routine of adult life. They constitute an immense reservoir of strength which, if properly canalized, can prove to be a source of great power to the nation. Indeed it is these young Indians who will soon be called upon to provide leadership in all walks of national life, and they must therefore look upon the present crisis as a welcome opportunity to train themselves to fulfil their future responsibilities with distinction.

In view of the fact that my own contacts with University life as a student are fairly recent, and also that I now have the privilege of a more formal association with two Universities, I would this evening like to address a few words in particular to this section of our young men and women. If they are to be effective in the service of the nation, it is essential that they must fit themselves in every way for this task. The building up of a vast and pulsating democratic nation is no mean undertaking, and a mere desire to be of service is not enough; it must be accompanied by the ability to do so effectively.

There are several distinct dimensions in which our youth must equip itself. The first is the physical. Building a great democracy and defending it from predatory aggressors requires a young generation that is physically strong, with muscles of iron and nerves of steel, and for this it must equip itself by undertaking physical training and developing physical fitness to the maximum extent possible. Despite technological advances and mechanization, defence is still to a large extent a matter of dogged physical endurance and courage, as our officers and Jawans have so magnificently proved on the field of battle recently when they emerged victorious against superior and more sophisticated war equipment. In this context the National Cadet Corps,

the Physical Fitness Scheme, and other similar organizations play a valuable role in building up the strength of our youth, and these opportunities must be fully availed of. Along with physical fitness the qualities of discipline and teamsmanship are essential, particularly for those planning to join the proud ranks of our defence forces, because what is required is not only individual achievement but corporate progress.

The second dimension is the intellectual. We live in a highly competitive age of science and technology, and can no longer afford the luxury of mediocrity if we are to forge ahead. This rapidly changing nuclear age requires our youth to be intellectually far more alert and competent than their predecessors, and therefore every young man and woman today studying in colleges and universities must aim at academic ability of the highest order. In a developing nation like ours, where large numbers are still unable to acquire even primary education, those undergoing higher education constitute a privileged elite. They must therefore repay their debt to society by not wasting a single moment of academic life in futile or disruptive pursuits, but strain every nerve to become able and efficient in their respective fields of study so that they can serve India with greater efficiency. In this context the futility of students getting involved in party politics and intrigues is too obvious to need any reiteration.

The third is the dimension of patriotism. I am concerned here not so much with the routine meaning of this term as with that deeper patriotism which transcends all pettiness and exclusivism, and creates in our youth a deep urge for national unity and progress. This alone can eradicate corruption and nepotism from our land and galvanize our whole process of economic development which is so crucial to the success of our democracy. The youth of a nation is

always the fountainhead of its idealism, and our young men and women must have a full realization that it is up to them to provide a new moral impetus to India at this crucial juncture in her history as a free nation. In this context I cannot resist the temptation to quote from a speech delivered over half a century ago by one of our great nationalist leaders, Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, to students of the Bengal National College. He said:

> "There are times in a nation's history when Providence places before it one work, one aim, to which everything else, however high and noble in itself, has to be sacrificed. Such a time has now arrived for our Motherland when nothing is dearer than her service, when everything else is to be directed to that end. If you will study, study for her sake; train yourselves body and mind and soul for her service. You will earn your living that you may do service to her. Work that she may prosper. Suffer that she may rejoice."

All is contained in that one single advice. How superbly relevant to our present condition are these stirring words.

Finally, there is the spiritual dimension which, indeed, is the main faculty that distinguishes human beings from the myriad other forms of life that exist on this planet. At a time of deep crisis like the one through which we are passing, we must be endowed with a new spiritual fervour leading to that fearlessness and dynamism whereby we can overcome all difficulties. When I speak of spirituality I am not referring merely to denominational religion, howsoever inspiring that may be. Ours is a nation that has from time immemorial cradled an immense variety of religions, and today in free India people belonging to all faiths live together in peace and harmony. What I am referring to is that golden thread of unity which runs through all religions and

from which they all ultimately derive power and sustenance. This implies the acceptance of the divinity inherent in every human being, and of the noble goal of spiritual growth and realization, a concept that at once raises the dignity of the individual and cuts across all narrow barriers and distinctions. Indeed the principle of individual divinity and spiritual evolution is one which transcends even national barriers, and it alone can give us the courage to fight for our freedom and integrity with undying valour, and the wisdom to do so without hatred.

The physical, intellectual, patriotic and spiritual, then, are dimensions in which our young men and women must equip themselves so that they can really be of effective service to the nation. Needless to say this is a continuing process, and the very act of national service itself helps to develop these capacities. What is required on the part of our youths is a keen sense of participation in what Jawaharlal Nehru used to call "the great adventure of nation-building". There is no room here for cynicism or defeatism, boredom or depression. In whatever position our youth may find themselves, there are always numerous avenues for national service. These may not be such as to hit newspaper headlines, but it is solid and devoted activity multiplied a million-fold that truly builds the fabric of a great nation.

There remains the important question of the opportunity which we must provide to our youth for serving the nation at this crucial juncture. There is so much to be done: refugees to be rehabilitated; civil defence measures to be strengthened in urban as well as rural areas; a network of nursing, first-aid and blood-bank centres to be established; the welfare of our brave security forces who have sacrificed so much on the battlefield to be furthered; the dependents of those who made the supreme sacrifice to be helped and comforted; communal harmony to be maintained; the

whole process of economic development and reconstruction to be speeded up; the vast areas of poverty and ignorance that still exist to be cleared; the fabric of our democratic society to be strengthened. These and a thousand other problems confront us today. Surely it should not be beyond our ingenuity to organize a vast national youth movement which—transcending all political, communal, regional and linguistic diversities—can mobilize our youth for the noble task of defending and developing free India, and canalize the mighty upsurge of patriotism that we have witnessed in recent days.

The younger generation today faces challenges graver than any with which their forefathers were confronted. What is at stake is nothing less than whether a secular and democratic nation, founded on the principles of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, can survive in this nuclear age. Destiny has given us the privilege of providing the answer to this momentous question, and I am confident that when the history of this turbulent era comes to be recorded our young men and women will not have been found wanting.

UNIVERSITY OF UDAIPUR

'Udaipur' which is synonymous with the best traditions of Indian chivalry and heroism, and the noble annals of Rajput bravery associated in particular with Maharana Pratap and this beautiful city form a glorious chapter in our nation's history. At a time when we have valiantly fought off a grave challenge to our security and integrity from Pakistan, our heroes of old are an immense source of inspiration. Although a ceasefire is in operation at present, Pakistan continues its hostile activities, and as usual its ally China has also been making closely co-ordinated moves on our northern frontiers. It must therefore be constantly remembered that grave dangers still lie ahead, and border States such as Jammu and Kashmir and Rajasthan have to be specially vigilant and alert. Although this is my first visit to Udaipur, I am bound to Rajasthan by strong ties of history and family tradition, and am delighted to be in your midst today. I take this opportunity to convey to you, and through you to the entire student community of Rajasthan, the fraternal greetings of the students of Jammu and Kashmir.

I feel that a Convocation speech should essentially be addressed to those young men and women who have qualified for the various degrees which they receive on this occasion. I hope therefore to be excused if my speech does not contain the expected remarks regarding educational theory, but is addressed directly to the students who are gathered today to attend this function. It is the youth of a nation which moulds its destiny and builds the edifice of its greatness, and in particular University youth has a crucial role to play in national development because it constitutes a dynamic and powerful intellectual elite. As it is

only a few years ago that I completed my University education, I feel a close affinity with you and venture to think that I share to some extent your hopes and aspirations.

It is my conviction that University students in our country today must essentially act as agents of change. We are passing through one of the crucial periods of our long and chequered national history, when, having only recently emerged from long centuries of servitude to foreign rule, we are attempting to adapt ourselves to this dynamic and rapidly changing nuclear age. The twentieth century has already witnessed immense scientific and technological developments that have transformed every aspect of life on this planet, and speed of change continues to increase in an extraordinary manner. We are still somewhat insulated from this typhoon of change that is blowing across the world, but it is clear that India also is on the threshold of a fundamental transformation. This process of change is one which we need not fear, because it is inevitable and necessary if India is to become a truly modern and progressive nation. Indeed the younger generation must prepare itself to spearhead this change, and in particular University students by virtue of their training and education must necessarily be in the vanguard of the process. I would like to share with you on this occasion some thoughts regarding the various areas in which the younger generation will have to grapple with the process of change, which can broadly be placed in three categories—social, economic and political.

The impact of technological development on a traditional society sets up pressures which tend to transform the whole social fabric. In India the old system of the joint family is slowly but surely breaking down, and is being replaced by what has been called the 'nuclear' family, consisting of husband, wife and their children. This process

involves considerable strain and even conflict between the older and younger generations, as I am sure many of you in the audience have had reason to experience. Nevertheless, it is an inevitable and in many ways a healthy development, because whereas the old joint family did have certain advantages it is generally accepted that the 'nuclear' family provides greater mobility and incentive for progress. It also provides a situation in which our women can more effectively fulfil their rightful role in the development of national life, a role which was denied to most of them under the joint family system.

Similarly the age-old institution of caste is also beginning to break down. While it is true that historically caste has in many ways played a useful role in our national life, it is also clear that in the modern age when we are trying to build a united and integrated India, the old rigid class barriers are out of place and act as a brake on progress. In particular the evil of untouchability, which is a stain upon our past history, must once and for all be rooted out of our consciousness as it militates not only against all principles of democracy but against the divinity that is inherent in every human being. In modern India the dynamic awareness and pride of being Indian must over-ride all lesser barriers and distinctions.

In the economic field the fundamental change required is the adoption of modern science and technology, and its intensive application to our economic problems. One of the main reasons for our backwardness is that we still follow an outmoded system of technology in many essential undertakings, particularly in agriculture. If India is really to become prosperous and take its place among the developed nations of the world, this is the sphere in which change will have to be most rapid and effective. Even in the sphere of industry our productivity is generally low, and this

militates against generating the rate of economic growth and capital formation which are essential if we are to achieve the economic 'take-off'. The co-operative sector is still weak, and public sector undertakings also are not by and large as profitable and efficient as might be expected. Indeed the necessity to change old methods of production and adopt the latest techniques suitable to our own conditions is paramount in the economic field, both in industry and agriculture.

I am happy to know that the Udaipur University has a special agricultural bias, because it is in the sphere of agriculture that the ultimate fate of our battle for economic emancipation will be decided. If we can achieve an agricultural break-through, our future is assured; if not, our entire structure of economic development and even political democracy will be gravely endangered. This break-through, however, necessitates a dynamic younger rural leadership which can bring about innovation and progress in agricultural practices. Unfortunately there is the widespread phenomenon of our rural youth divorcing the land as soon as they are educated and rushing to the cities in search of white-collar jobs. This depletes the rural areas of all dynamic leadership, leaving them stuck in the rut of centuries. I sincerely hope that graduates of this University, particularly agricultural graduates, will make it a point to stay on the land so that their technical know-how can be put to the best possible use in spearheading the modernization of our agricultural system.

Perhaps even more important is the crushing problem of population increase that militates so violently against our economic progress. Here also a process of mass education is required to change the mentality of our people regarding population growth and to inculcate the realization that this is a field in which every family has a special responsibility

to the nation. Happily technological advances have made a promising break-through in the field of cheap and effective contraception, but it is the younger generation which must fully accept and then widely propagate the advantages of having small families. This indeed will be one of the greatest services you can render to the nation.

Politically there was an immense transformation when we attained freedom in 1947 and proceeded to adopt a democratic Constitution based on full adult franchise and dedicated to the principles of justice, fraternity, equality and liberty. Attempts have since been made—and in this your state of Rajasthan has commendable achievements to its credit—to bring this democracy down from the apex of the Lok Sabha to the millions of villages that constitute the base of our national pyramid. The mere adoption of a democratic Constitution does not necessarily mean that the spirit of democracy has permeated into the minds of the people, and it is in changing the old mentality into a truly democratic mould lies the great challenge in the political field. Then only will democracy become not merely an institutional device but a way of life and thinking in this country. It has truly been said that freedom is more difficult to live with than tyranny, because while in the latter all the decisions are made from above and the common citizen has merely to comply with them, democracy implies that each individual must participate actively in the whole process of decision-making and implementation.

Also in the political field we must ensure the unity and integrity of India under all circumstances. It is true that we are a vast and varied nation, containing a remarkable diversity of race and language, custom and religion, dress and habits. Indeed this adds charm and colour to our national life and can be likened to the various instruments in a large orchestra, each contributing its distinctive sound

to the overall harmony. But the over-riding unity has got to be preserved at all costs, and this can only be done if we are utterly dedicated to maintaining the integrity of the nation. Too often has our past history shown what disastrous consequences flow from disunity. The Chinese invasion in 1962, and more recently the Pakistani aggression, have proved that free India will rise as one man to fight back any threat to its honour and security. There has been a glorious display of unity in which people belonging to every State and every religious community stood shoulder to shoulder and made supreme sacrifices to defend the nation. It is important that this unity must become a permanent feature of our national life, for even after we have shattered the threat from Pakistan and China the war against poverty, ignorance and disease will still have to be waged.

In these processes of change it is imperative that the initiative be taken by the younger generation, particularly our University youth who constitute an intellectual elite in a developing country where mass illiteracy is still widespread. It is important, however, to stress that change can only be creative and beneficial if it is based upon a deep awareness of our cultural heritage and a re-integration of our spiritual values. Change merely for the sake of change, or change designed to make a traumatic break from the past, will be extremely harmful because a great nation like ours with a proud history and tradition going back to the very dawn of civilisation cannot afford to give up those eternal values that it has inherited. It is in this context that the changes I have outlined must be undertaken.

The fundamental principle that has informed our civilization from its very dawn is the divinity of the individual human being. We believe that each individual embodies a divine principle which evolves progressively towards self-consciousness and whose destiny is ultimately to achieve

the full glory of spiritual realization. This fundamental principle must inform our entire approach to the social, economic and political problems that confront us, and it is only on this firm base that a dynamic ideology can be developed capable of initiating the changes that India today requires. This means that the individual must be accepted as the irreducible unit of society and must be treated with respect, for the compulsions of individual development can never be subordinated in the ultimate analysis to any other requirement.

Indeed the spiritual world view gives the younger generation a clear vision in dealing with the challenges that confront us. In the social sphere the divinity of the individual implies that there is no room for narrow caste and communal barriers, because all individuals are linked to each other by a deep spiritual bond which must transcend all lesser differences. In the economic sphere it means that we must labour to create conditions in which the individual can grow to his full spiritual stature. As long as millions of our countrymen continue to live in want and poverty, ignorance and disease, we can never consider our political freedom to be complete, and it is a spiritual imperative for us to create the material base upon which the superstructure of intellectual development can be reared. In the political field we must realize the spiritual unity of this great nation, stretching from Kashmir in the north to Kanya Kumari in the south, and from Kathiawar in the west to Kamarup in the east. We must look upon India not merely as a geographical entity but as the motherland that has nurtured our race for centuries, and to which we owe our very existence.

Thus the younger generation must approach the exciting task of nation-building firmly based upon its spiritual heritage, but yet with a dynamism which enables it to

tackle boldly the problems that confront it. The mere will to serve India, however, is not enough. It must be accompanied by the ability to do so effectively, and for this purpose you must equip yourselves physically, morally, intellectually and spiritually.

Physically it is essential that you must be strong and active. As Swami Vivekananda said over half a century ago, we require youth with muscles of iron and nerves of steel. Building India and defending it against aggression is physically a hard task, and you must therefore develop physical fitness to the utmost capacity. In this the various physical and sports activities in our educational institutions, the National Cadet Corps, the Physical Fitness Scheme and other allied activities are all helpful. Although the days of hand-to-hand fighting, as epitomised by the glory of Rajput valour here in Udaipur itself, are past, the need for physical fitness and bravery remains as important as ever. Indeed this was proved conclusively by our brave officers and jawans in the recent conflict with Pakistan when they emerged victorious over superior and more sophisticated war equipment.

Morally it is essential that you imbibe a deep sense of discipline and dedication to work, without which no nation can become great. When I speak of morality I refer not so much to the somewhat puritanical connotation which the phrase has come to imply, but rather to the broader morality of national service and integrity in daily life. The complaint of corruption at many levels of our society is still widespread, and this can only be rectified if you are endowed with a morality which spurns the pursuit of dishonest means as treachery to the nation, and more so as treachery to your own inner development. The youth of a nation has always been the fountain-head of idealism, and despite all the unfavourable circumstances which you may have to encounter,

it is essential that the pure flame of idealism be kept alight.

Intellectually you must equip yourselves fully in the fields of study which you have chosen, because India today can no longer afford the luxury of incompetence and inefficiency. In this age of science and technology, with our administrative and developmental commitments increasing with each Five-Year Plan, our youth must possess great ability and efficiency if we are to succeed. You must also remember that in a country where millions are still deprived of the advantages of even elementary education, those of you studying in universities are in a privileged position and must repay your debt to society by giving your full attention to academic studies and equipping yourselves as thoroughly as possible. This to my mind is the strongest argument against students getting involved in active politics, because not only does that result in massive national loss but it is the student himself who stands to lose most therefrom. Indeed at this crucial juncture you must not waste a single moment of your academic life in futile or disruptive pursuits, but must labour day and night to fit yourselves to serve your nation.

Finally, we come to the spiritual aspect which I have emphasized earlier. Unless our young men and women imbibe a fundamental spiritual outlook on life and its problems, real integrated national development will not be possible. I would like to stress that a spiritual approach to life by no means involves running away from the problems that face us or withdrawal into asceticism and solitude. On the contrary it implies that we plunge with renewed vigour and zest into the battle of life, our very spiritual integration giving us the power and the wisdom to forge ahead.

This, then, is the message which I would like to leave with you today. Use every moment of your academic life to equip yourselves for service to the nation; physically,

morally, intellectually and spiritually. Act as dynamic but constructive agents of change in the social, economic and political fields. Above all, develop a deep love for your nation, and on the occasion of this sacred Convocation ceremony take an inner pledge that your lives will be dedicated to her service. It is my sincere hope that the word 'Udaipur' will shine as brightly in our future history as it did in our past.

UTKAL UNIVERSITY

THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS in our country today are in a state of ferment, and being comparatively young myself I must admit that I also partake of the general psychological unrest that pervades India. There is a feeling that our country is not moving forward fast enough towards our chosen goals, that our social and economic development has fallen well below expectations, that corruption continues to exercise its baneful influence at various levels of society, that politically we have not yet been able to forge the necessary national integration and dynamism, and that as a consequence of all this our stature on the international scene is not commensurate with our size and vast population. I think I am correct in saying that this ferment today is extremely widespread among the youth, and I am sure that many of the students and younger members of the staff of this University fully share these feelings.

It seems to me that the present unrest constitutes both a challenge as well as an opportunity. Without unrest and ferment nothing new can be born, and twenty years after Independence we have reached a stage in which the birth of a new national dynamism is urgently required if India is to forge ahead. But unrest without any positive focus can lead to disruption and disintegration. Indeed the numerous incidents of violence that have been witnessed in the country recently are a grave portent, and show clearly that unless we are able to give a positive lead to the natural restlessness of youth a situation may well develop in which orderly government itself becomes impossible and all our efforts to build a new India crumble to the dust.

A great deal has been said and written in the last few

months regarding student indiscipline, and a number of useful suggestions have emerged which if implemented can go a long way towards preventing minor irritations from accumulating until they lead to a violent explosion. These include the creation of standing machinery in each University for the redress of students' grievances, the setting up of Students' Councils which would help to give the students a sense of participation and belonging, the appointment of a whole-time Dean of Students' Welfare in each University and so on. While I sincerely hope that these steps will be speedily implemented and not remain merely paper theories, I do feel that by themselves they will not be enough to generate a new enthusiasm in our University youth.

For this it is necessary to place before them a new vision which can tap the springs of idealism and dynamism that they undoubtedly possess. The youth of a nation is always its reservoir of idealism, and its power must be harnessed to the immense tasks of nation-building that confront us if our country is ever really to progress. I would therefore like today to share with you some thoughts regarding the new India that we must all help to build, and the special role of University youth therein. It is surely incontrovertible that our main preoccupation has to be the building up of a dynamic and powerful India which can take its due place among the great nations of the world. I have no hesitation in using the word 'great' in this context, because for a country of our size, inhabited by fully one-seventh of the entire human race, there can be no ideal that falls short of greatness. Let us see what are the components of this undertaking.

Firstly, we have to complete the task of social emancipation upon which the nation has been engaged for many decades. It is true that in urban life the curse of untouchability is gradually fading away, but this seems to be more

the result of the pressure of urbanization and industrialization than of a concerted and dedicated movement for social reform. It is necessary that this process be carried to its logical conclusion, so that a system which has caused so much suffering and misery through the centuries is once and for all eradicated from our soil. Along with old evils, however, new ones have sprung up which also threaten our social fabric. Black marketeering, hoarding, alcoholism and other such phenomena of modern life have begun to come increasingly into evidence, particularly in urban areas. We must check these with all the means at our disposal, otherwise they can do deep harm to our national life.

In these tasks of social reconstruction the educated youth, particularly those of you who have been privileged to undergo a course of University studies, must necessarily take the lead and act as the spearhead. A University is after all an important part of the community, and cannot function in isolation. In fact it is a glaring weakness of our educational system that it is largely isolated from the life of the people, thus on the one hand depriving the students of a living and creative contact with the community and on the other depriving the community of any direct advantage from the University. This artificial division must go, and our University system so geared as to create in each student a deep commitment to the welfare of the community in which he lives and provide him with concrete opportunities to translate this commitment into socially valuable activity.

The second great sphere of constructive endeavour lies in the field of economic development. Twenty years after independence we find ourselves in a position where millions of our countrymen would starve to death if foreign countries refuse to send us foodgrains. This is a fantastic situation, and cuts at the very root of our pretensions to national

greatness. Unless and until we are able to become reasonably self-sufficient in the production of foodgrains, we can never hope to emerge as a really great power. What is more, with spiralling prices of essential commodities the middle classes are hard pressed to survive, and our industrial development both in the public and private sectors will have to gain very much more momentum if it is to keep pace with our growing requirements. The scope here is so immense that the controversy between the public and private sectors becomes somewhat unreal. What is required is efficient and adequate production, and a special onus lies upon the public sector undertakings to prove themselves models of efficiency and modern organization. In this whole process of economic development the younger generation has a crucial role to play, particularly in the managerial sphere. What we require today are young technicians and managers who have fully imbibed the most modern scientific techniques and combine these with a high sense of efficiency and social commitment. It is these younger technocrats who in the ultimate analysis will really build the new India of our dreams.

Here also it is necessary that our educational system be closely related to national requirements, so that the immense social waste involved at present is obviated. With the tremendous expansion of educational facilities, accompanied often by a dilution in standards, we are steadily pouring into society a massive stream of young graduates with a strong urban bias who are not really equipped for any specific technical undertaking. Many of these fail to find any gainful employment, and instead of becoming the prime builders of a new social and economic order they tend to become socially useless and ideal targets for exploitation by anti-social forces. This is a dangerous malady which needs carefully to be studied and remedied as early as possible. We must so reorient our system of higher education, if necessary

introducing a rigid restriction on admissions, to ensure that the products of our Universities have the opportunity to put to creative use the skills and knowledge that they acquire.

I would also like to stress another factor that is absolutely crucial if our nation is ever to become prosperous—the overriding problem of population control. It is now universally accepted that unless we are able to bring down the birth rate in this country substantially within the next few years, the sheer weight of numbers will grow so heavy that all our plans and policies will come crashing to the ground. Despite a good deal of activity on the part of the Union and State Health Ministries, as well as voluntary organizations, this matter is not yet receiving the top priority that it requires. I recently suggested the setting up of a high-powered Population Control Commission presided over by the Prime Minister, which would co-ordinate all the activities on a national level and have its branches in every State. University students must also realize the full importance of family planning. In fact I would go to the extent of suggesting that upon graduation every student should be obliged, before the degree is awarded, to sign a solemn declaration that under no circumstances would he or she have more than three children! I sincerely feel that unless University youth take the lead in this matter there is little hope of our being able to generate sufficient momentum throughout the country to grapple with this massive problem.

Apart from social emancipation and economic progress, a prime necessity is the building up of political integration in this country on a national scale. About a decade ago a decision was taken that India should be reorganized on a linguistic basis, and with the recent reorganization of the Punjab this process is now almost complete. Some people, witnessing the growth of linguistic exclusivism and regionalism, have thrown up their hands in horror and

suggested that this reorganization should be undone. To my mind this is an entirely impracticable approach, as linguistic States have come to stay and there does not seem to be the slightest possibility of their being scrapped. What is really required is a re-focussing of mass attention upon our national problems in a national perspective.

I see no inherent contradiction between devotion to one's mother-tongue and to one's nation. Indeed the smaller linguistic concept can flourish only if the nation as a whole is strong and healthy. If India collapses then all of us collapse, regardless of where we live or what language we speak. This is so self-evident that it should hardly be necessary to repeat it, but necessary it is because we often witness situations in which inter-State rivalries take on almost international dimensions and the national interest goes by the board. This is particularly dangerous at a time when the rulers of two of our closest neighbours have made no secret of their enmity towards us and will lose no opportunity to strike at us in collusion. Threatened as we are by two ruthless totalitarian regimes, it is nothing short of suicidal for us to allow any inter-State rivalry or linguistic chauvinism to weaken the nation.

In building up national integration it is again the younger generation that has to take the lead. With Universities switching over increasingly to the regional languages as media of instruction there is a real danger that we may drift into a situation in which educated men and women from different States will ultimately find it virtually impossible to converse intelligently with each other. This must at all costs be avoided, and it is here that our two great link languages—English and Hindi—have a crucial role to play. We can neglect either of these only at grave peril. I might also at this juncture refer to a third great language, Sanskrit, which has been the great mother-language of the

Indian sub-continent and can still serve as a source of inspiration and unity in modern India.

In these spheres of social emancipation, economic progress and political integration it is the younger generation —young men and women like yourselves in the audience today—who will have to play the major role. Our elders, good, bad or indifferent, are steadily passing backwards into the pages of history, and while it is very necessary that a creative dialogue should continuously take place between the generations, in the ultimate analysis it is the youth that will have to shoulder the tasks ahead. Indeed it is unfortunately true that with a few distinguished exceptions the leadership in this country has ceased to be a source of inspiration to the youth, and has become so involved in the murky mechanics of political manœuvring that it causes cynicism and distaste among the younger generations. If ever a nation needed dynamic and inspiring leadership it is India today, and this must be thrown up not only in the political field but also in the spheres of industry and commerce, labour and agriculture, education and social service.

In the final analysis it is the young who will have to provide this leadership, and for this purpose we must equip ourselves in every possible way so as to be equal to the task. We have to be physically strong, mentally alert, intellectually able and spiritually dynamic if we are to meet the challenges that lie ahead. Above all, the youth of our nation must imbibe the discipline necessary for any great endeavour. Without the capacity for discipline and sustained hard work, and the ability to function efficiently as part of a team, we can never succeed in achieving real greatness for our country. Simultaneously, there must be a genuine commitment to democratic methods of functioning. Violence is the negation of democracy and the temptation to resort to violence as a short-cut towards achieving an aim must be resisted

at all costs. Unless this is done, the entire social, economic and political fabric of the nation will be endangered, and along with them all our hopes for peacefully building a new order.

Indeed in the broader world context the challenge in the next two or three decades is unique, involving nothing less than whether or not mankind is going to survive in this nuclear age. Unprecedented advances in science and technology have put into human hands weapons which can destroy all life on this planet many times over, while efforts towards building up an international community permeated by peace and harmony have miserably failed. Suspicion and hostility between nations continue, and we have in Vietnam a classic example of human folly and tragedy luring the world towards mass suicide. Those of us who have been born in this crucial era of human history will, in howsoever small a way, each contribute towards its final outcome. Let us therefore never forget this broader perspective in the heat of our petty controversies and wranglings. To those of you who have today received your degrees I would like in particular to temper my felicitations with the plea that at all times and under all conditions you must keep in mind the greater tasks that India demands from you. Thus only will you fulfil your own destiny as well as that of this great nation into which we have been privileged to be born.

INDISCIPLINE

THE RECENT WAVE of student unrest in various parts of the country is a cause for serious concern, specially when student agitations increasingly take a violent turn resulting in disruption of ordered life, destruction of public property and often grievous injury to the police, to the students themselves and in many cases to innocent bystanders. Such violence can certainly not be condoned, as it strikes at the very root of our democratic polity. But mere denunciation is not enough, and it is necessary to look deep into the causes of this frustration and indiscipline in our student community. The youth of a nation should be its main reservoir of idealism and dedication, for upon it will depend the future of all that we hold dear in our nation including our very independence. Why is it that in India there is widespread frustration among the young, and that instead of becoming a positive force in nation-building they are getting increasingly alienated and resentful?

I will not here attempt to analyse the various factors that contribute towards student indiscipline, such as the rising cost of living that presses down heavily upon the student community, the inadequate teaching facilities in our educational institutions, the over-crowding in classrooms and the grievous shortage of opportunities for sports and extra-curricular activities, the generally low standards of teaching, the unimaginativeness, corruption and sheer inefficiency that are often encountered in educational administration. These have been analysed time and again by experts, the latest study being in the voluminous report

of the Education Commission published recently. It is also hardly necessary to deprecate the tendency of political parties to fish in the troubled waters of student grievances. It is true that in the national freedom struggle students played a valuable political role, but with the attainment of our independence the justification for active student participation in politics disappeared, and it is sincerely to be hoped that our political parties will accept and implement a self-denying ordinance whereby they will cease to exploit students for political purposes.

What I really wish to point out is that student indiscipline cannot be treated in isolation from the general attitudes that pervade our society. Students act and react upon society in a very real and tangible manner. On the one hand they constitute a regular inflow into its mainstream and necessarily carry over into later life the attitudes that they have inherited during their student days. On the other, while they are yet in educational institutions, the students derive their scale of values and behaviour largely by looking around them at the society in which they live. Before we condemn student indiscipline, therefore, we should first take a long and deep look into our own hearts.

Is it not a fact that as a nation we have tended to become progressively indisciplined over the last few years? There would seem to be few facets of our national life (the armed forces are among the distinguished exceptions) in which indiscipline is not evident to a considerable degree. Unfortunately, this is particularly so in the political sphere where harmonious team-work and healthy co-operation are rapidly vanishing from the scene, to be replaced by blatant factionalism and unending manipulation. Of late scenes have been enacted in Parliament and in many State legislatures

which can hardly have been a glowing example to our student community. When we find that in the highest councils of the nation threats and insults are hurled about with gay abandon, and angry commotion often becomes the order of the day, can we really blame the students if their frustration explodes in periodic bursts of indiscipline? It may even be that subconsciously we tend to project upon the students an indiscipline that really lies deep within ourselves.

We are now nearing our fourth general elections since independence, and it seems to be generally accepted that we must expect the present trend of violence to rise to a new crescendo by election day. Is it not clear, however, that such violence in fact rends the very fabric of democracy of which the elections are the supreme symbol? In a democratic society sharp differences of opinion between various political parties are not merely understandable but necessary for the proper functioning of the whole system. It is in the clash of conflicting opinions regarding public issues that a democratic consensus emerges along which the nation can progress towards its appointed goals. But surely there should be some restraint upon the manner in which these differences are expressed, for if the expression is fraught with violence it will defeat the very purposes of the democratic process.

Although two decades are a very short period in the life of a nation, particularly one such as ours whose roots go back unbroken into the very dawn of history, yet it is necessary for us to pause and take stock of our present situation. Why is it that as a nation we do not, except in times of acute external threat, conduct ourselves as a disciplined body? Without imposing upon ourselves a

certain basic discipline will it be possible for us to achieve those cherished goals of social emancipation and economic progress without which our political freedom loses much of its value? These are questions which we should all ask ourselves, and seek to answer them honestly and without intellectual prevarication. It is only when we have done so that we will really be justified in lecturing our students on the virtues of discipline.

BARODA UNIVERSITY

THE PRESENT IS, I think, the most exciting time ever in the history of the human race to be young. After many millennia in its long and tortuous history upon this planet, the human race has now reached a crucial cross-road in its destiny. On the one hand, science and technology have given man the power to soar into space; to break the barriers of gravity that have surrounded it ever since it began its existence on earth; the power, if wisely used, to eradicate want and poverty and disease and illiteracy from the face of this earth. On the other hand the same science and technology have given man the power, if he misuses it, to annihilate not only the human race but indeed all life upon this planet. And particularly in India, where the impact of science and technology upon our traditional society is just beginning to be felt, we are passing through one of the most crucial and critical phases of our history. The old is dying and the new is struggling to be born and our generations find themselves precariously poised between the past and the future.

Many generations in India struggled and sacrificed so that India should become free. To-day we are free, but our freedom is by no means complete. There is a great deal that remains to be done. There are many further conquests that remain to be achieved, and this responsibility will fall essentially upon the younger generations in India to-day: the generation represented by those of you who have received your degrees and the generation to which perhaps your distinguished Chancellor and myself can also still claim to belong. As a matter of fact there is a six-month age difference between the two of us, but over the last 30

years I have never quite been able to discover whether I am six months older than he or he six months older than I! In any case, we do share the urges and the aspirations of the younger generation; and I will, therefore, to-day address my remarks not so much to the distinguished educationists and members of the Senate who are here, and to whom in any case it would be impertinent for me to proffer advice, but rather to the young men and women who have to-day received their degrees and entered a new phase in their career.

I know that all of you are patriotic and wish to build a new nation but I would like to point out that building a new nation is no easy task. In our civilization and culture there are two concepts that stand out—the concept of 'Sadhana' and the concept of 'Siddhi'. 'Sadhana' is the effort, the preparation, the work. 'Siddhi' is the fruit, the enjoyment. And I would like to urge upon you that unless the younger generation in India to-day undertakes a long and arduous process of 'Sadhana' we cannot achieve the goal that we have set before us. What is this 'Sadhana' that we have to undertake? As I see it, there are four aspects.

The first, of course, is physical strength. As Swami Vivekananda used to say, we need young people with muscles of iron and nerves of steel. Building a great nation is not a task for the weak. It is a task for people who are prepared, despite their distinguished degrees, to go out into this marvellous country of ours and to work hard, to mingle the sweat of their brows with the soil of this great nation. Then and then alone, will we be able to begin the process of becoming great. Physical strength, physical fitness, is the first pre-requisite. I was impressed by the N.C.C. Guard of Honour that I met when I entered this University, and I am sure that the N.C.C. and the other sports activities

that you undertake here will help you in this important task of physical preparation and development.

The second aspect of our 'Sadhana' is intellectual. We live in an age of Science and Technology which is transforming the world before our very eyes with new processes, new techniques, new applications, new ideas. We have got to yoke the power of science and technology to the chariot of India's progress if we are going to move forward rapidly; and that is why when you are in your University careers and in your college careers you must remember that you have to make the best of these opportunities. You represent the privileged few in a vast country where crores of people do not get the opportunity for higher education. And it is, therefore, particularly sad when we find young people, instead of taking the opportunity to equip themselves with the new knowledge and the new techniques that are required, frittering away their time and energies. I can assure you that there is plenty of time for politics, after you have finished your University life. I would not say that students should not be aware of what is happening in this country. They should be and they must be aware, because they represent the most conscious section of society. My plea merely is that involvement in active political affairs is perhaps premature, because it may deflect you from the basic purpose and principle of the University which is to gather new knowledge and to master the new techniques that India requires for her progress. And so, the second aspect of our 'Sadhana' is this intellectual capital formation, the gaining of new knowledge and new skill in every field that we require.

The third aspect is Discipline and Team-work. India has never lacked individual greatness. There have always been people of tremendous individual capacity in this country in every field of human endeavour. What we have lacked

is the capacity to work together as a disciplined team; the capacity to pool our individual resources so that we can get the maximum benefit therefrom. We did find this pooling during the freedom struggle, when the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the prince and the peasant all got together in order to achieve political freedom. But after independence that unifying concept seems to have disappeared and once again we find ourselves frittering away our energies upon minor pursuits and minor projects when there is this great task of national reconstruction in front of us. And therefore, I would submit to you that individual accomplishment, even individual genius, is not enough. What is required is the capacity to pool our talents, to pool our resources and to work together as a team for the mighty project of building the new India of our dreams.

And the fourth aspect of our 'Sadhana' is a deep patriotism, a deep love for our country. I said in the beginning that you were all patriotic people; indeed all of us are patriotic in a superficial sort of way. We join easily enough in singing the National Anthem and hoisting the national flag. But patriotism does not lie merely in that. Patriotism means that when the challenge and the crisis comes, we must be able to rise above lesser loyalties. We must be able to hold before ourselves a glowing vision of the new India that we are to build. That is the sort of patriotism that is required. It is not merely singing the National Anthem and then getting involved in strife in the name of religion or in the name of language or in the name of province or political party. We need that deeper and broader patriotism if we are really to go ahead and build the India that is destined to be built.

And therefore, I would submit to you that these are the four aspects of our 'Sadhana'. There is physical fitness, there is intellectual capacity, there is disciplined team-work

and there is deep patriotism. It is only if for many years we practise these, will we really be in a position to serve India, to build India. Before we can build India, we have to build ourselves. Before we can bring about an outer integration, we have to have at least a minimal internal integration. And then after the 'Sadhana' what is the 'Siddhi'? What sort of country are we trying to build? I think we should have a fairly clear idea before us, because it is not enough merely to drift along. We have got to have a clear-cut picture of the India of the future, and here again I would place before you four aspects.

The first is national unity. This great land of ours, stretching from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Gujarat to Assam has for the first time after centuries of servitude emerged as a sovereign independent nation. There was a partition in 1947. The partition was decided upon by a generation of Indians who are no longer alive. Whether the decision was right or wrong, whether partition could or could not have been avoided, is now a matter merely for conjecture by historians; but to-day the India that we have must remain one, and under no circumstances can we allow anything to occur that would weaken our unity, that would in any way bring about a sense of danger to the unity of India. This is the first task before us which we must always keep in mind in whatever we do and whatever we say.

Secondly, we are trying to build in India a secular State. A secular State does not mean an irreligious State. A secular State does not mean one in which we give up the magnificent cultural heritage that has come down to us from the very dawn of civilization. A secular State means that every Indian, irrespective of his religion, his caste or his creed, has got equal rights and equal responsibilities.

This is not a new concept for India. The *Rigveda* many centuries ago said:

Ekam Sad Viprah Bahudha Vadanthi

(The truth is one, the wise may call it by many names.)

The *Mundaka Upanishad* has it:

Yathaa Nadyah Syanamaanaah Samudre
Astam gacchanti Naamaroope Vihaaya
Tathaa Vidwaan Namaroopaad Vimuktah
Paraat Param Purushamupaiti Divyam

(As streams arise from different parts of the country but finally flow into the same great ocean, so the different religious practices and dogmas and creeds arise in different parts of the world but ultimately reach the same divine goal.)

This is not a new concept for us; this is an ancient concept—an integral part of our civilization and our culture —and this is something that must be strengthened in the free India of to-day.

Thirdly, there is democracy. Democracy is a very difficult system of government, because it lays upon every individual the responsibility to judge at every step what should be done and what decision should be taken. A dictatorship in a way is much easier, because one man or a few men decide and everybody else has got to act accordingly. But in a democracy, each of us is always responsible for what we do, and I would submit that democracy does not merely mean the enjoyment of rights; it means the fulfilling of responsibilities. It is true that in our Constitution, which is indeed a noble and a powerful document, on reaching the age of twenty-one every citizen of India is immediately endowed with certain rights—fundamental rights and others. But it is also important to

remember that unless we fulfil our responsibilities, we will not ultimately be able to enjoy those rights for ever. Let there be no doubt about this. There is no divine guarantee that democracy will forever persist in India unless we constantly make ourselves capable of enjoying democracy. To-day the voices of extremism are beginning to be raised in this country. New Gods are being invoked beyond the borders of our country. New thoughts are being invoked. I can only submit that, if we fall into the trap of this sort of nihilistic extremism, we will be endangering the very foundations of the democracy that has so painstakingly been built up in India.

And finally there is socialism—a word which is much maligned and used in many different contexts. But there are some clear features of socialism. To begin with, of course, there must be more production, otherwise the country will not get richer. Socialism does not and cannot mean merely redistributing the wealth that exists. Surely it also means the production of greater wealth. In our factories, in our farms, we find labour unrest holding up a lot of development. In a way that goes against the objectives of socialism. We need, to begin with, more production, more production in the field, more production in the factory —not more production in the family, I must add! I was somewhat disturbed by the impressive figures of population increase in Baroda that your Chancellor mentioned. I trust that this is due to an influx of population from outside. In any case, what we want is more production of course, better distribution and more equitable distribution. We still have in India to-day a situation in which lakhs, even crores of people are not even assured of one square meal a day. What a shame and disgrace this is! Twenty-three years after Independence, we have people who do not have enough food to eat, who do not have enough

clothes to wear, who do not have educational opportunities or any shelter from the elements. We have got to eradicate this poverty from the face of our country. Unless we can do that, no amount of philosophy and no amount of preaching is going to have any effect, and as I see it the process of socialism essentially means the hastening of this economic development and hastening of the abolition of poverty in this country.

And so, we have before us this image of India; an India that is politically integrated; an India that practises secularism firmly; an India that is truly democratic—not merely in letter but in spirit; and an India that is truly socialistic in as much as every person, even the lowliest person in this country, is assured of the minimum needs of life. This is the 'Siddhi'. I have tried to place before you very briefly the 'Sadhana' that we must undergo and the 'Siddhi' that we must strive for. I am sure that this great University, named after Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad, one of the most enlightened rulers that India has known and to-day being fortunate in the guidance of your young and extremely talented Chancellor who, I have no doubt, will continue to play an increasingly important role in the India of the future, will continue to pour into the life-stream of the nation a steady stream of young men and women imbued with these ideals.

I cannot conclude my speech without referring to Aurobindo, who was for many years resident in Baroda as Vice-Principal of a College that is to-day a constituent unit of your University. I had occasion this morning to visit the house where he lived. It was a deeply moving experience particularly, as by an extraordinary coincidence, to-day the 5th December is Aurobindo's *Mahasamadhi* day—the day that he passed away. When we have had in our country men like Aurobindo, not only the prophet of Indian

nationalism but the prophet of supramental divinity and of future mankind, when we have men like Vivekananda whose clarion voice seventy-five years ago resounded throughout the length and breadth of this country, do we really have to go abroad to learn the thoughts of Mao? I would submit to you that you will not find greater and more true radicals and revolutionaries than Aurobindo and Swami Vivekananda, because they realized that revolutions are not merely exterior things. Revolutions ultimately have got to come from within us, and unless we can transform ourselves, unless each and every individual can become a glowing centre, a nexus for the divinity that is to manifest itself, no amount of tinkering with exteriors is going to solve our problems. I would submit to you, my dear friends, that we have had in this country, men and women who have given us the light. It is for us—it is for you and us together—to follow that light so that we can really build the India of our dream. Difficulties there will be. No nation ever became great without overcoming difficulties. No individual can ever become great without overcoming inner difficulties, and indeed the difficulties are there so that they can be overcome. We must arise and awake, and we must follow boldly and bravely, without frustration or bitterness, but with a deep and sincere aspiration, the vision that we have before us. I will close with an immortal *Mantra* from the *Katha Upanishad* which gives this very message:

Uthishtata Jagrata Prapya Varan Nibodhata,
Kshurasya Dhara Nishita Durathyaya Durgam Pathasthat Kavayo Vadanti

Section – IV

GENERAL

THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION

CHANGE IS THE key-note of the age in which we live. Certainly change has been a characteristic of human history ever since the dawn of civilization. But in the last two or three decades the impact of science and technology has speeded up the rate of change tremendously, and today we find that the world is being transformed before our very eyes. Old values are collapsing; the new is still struggling to be born, and our generation finds itself precariously poised between the past and the future.

In this context, the problems of a developing nation like India's are specially important, because we have a staggering task in front of us, a task of modernizing a nation containing fully one-seventh of the human race; a task of bringing India into the twentieth century *in* the twentieth century; a task of trying to build a new social and economic order while retaining democratic procedures. This is a task that has never before been attempted, far less accomplished, because we must remember that very often, where we have tried to build socialism, absolutism has also come with it. But what we are trying to do in India today is something unique. We are attempting an economic breakthrough; we are attempting a social transformation and we are trying to do this while retaining democratic methods.

We are today on the threshold of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. There have been many painful adjustments that we have had to make; there were those two terrible years of drought and famine, but now despite all the difficulties things are beginning to look up. We have the agricultural revolution that has already begun to create a healthy

situation in many parts of the country, and the Fourth Five Year Plan is shortly going to be finalized.

The Plan itself, we must always remember, is not merely a question of statistics. The Plan embodies, as it were, the hopes and aspirations of the vast millions of this country, particularly those who still live below the standard necessary for a civilized human existence. We must remember today that the country is still an extremely poor one, and the pockets of affluence that we may see here and there are merely islands in a vast ocean of poverty. And we have, therefore, in the course of the Fourth Plan to try and fulfil at least partially the expectations and the aspirations of the vast masses of people in this country.

It is in this whole context that the importance of management becomes so crucial in the India of today. There has been great talk about the green revolution, which is extremely important and valuable, but I would submit that even more important than the green revolution is the managerial revolution, because it is the managerial revolution that alone will help us to achieve a breakthrough not only in agriculture, but in industry; not only in the private sector, but in the public sector; not only in trade and commerce, but in every other aspect of national endeavour.

The old concepts of management have got to change. In the private sector we have got to move away from the proprietorial or the hereditary theory of management, and in the public sector we have got to move away from the seniority theory of management. Both these sectors have got to change and we have got to develop a new technocracy, using the word 'technocracy' in its better sense; we have got to develop a new expertise, we have got to develop a new generation of managers who can build this country using modern methods, using modern processes, and modern ideas, because without such a generation of managers all our

plans and all our hopes and aspirations for the future will lie shattered in the dust.

I would like particularly to say something about the public sector because I am involved at present in Government and in the last two years I have had some first-hand experience of how the public sector functions. There are three public sector corporations in my Ministry and it has been a very valuable education to me personally to see how the problems of the public sector are really very similar to those in the private sector; in fact, it seems to me that this polarization between the two sectors that is very often attempted is both unnecessary and unfortunate. Because, if the private sector is important, so is the public sector; the difference is this: that the public sector should be looked upon as public limited companies in which every citizen of India is a share-holder. And it is in that attitude that we must build the public sector; we must make the very large investments that have been put into the public sector in the last twenty years begin giving us returns, and we have got to make them profit-oriented. It is a happy coincidence that all the three corporations in my own Ministry are in fact going to make a profit—have made a profit—in the year ending 31st March 1969.

But the point I wish to make here is this, that the key to economic development in Government lies very largely in the concept of the public sector, in which we have got to try and develop a viable balance, as it were, between parliamentary control and genuine autonomy. We must concede that public money has been invested and Parliament is the custodian of the public interest; therefore Parliament should certainly be able to have requisite authority and requisite control over the public sector undertakings. But at the same time if this control becomes bureaucratic or rigid, it completely cripples the ability of the public sector to make any progress and to become economically viable. And it

seems to me that all our professions of socialism will collapse unless we are able to make our public sector far more result-oriented, far more dynamic in its structure and in its functioning than it is at present.

The public sector and the private sector require trained managers and therefore the crucial importance of this whole problem of training. It is no longer enough for somebody to be born in an industrial family in order to become a manager. What is required is the most careful training, the introduction of new techniques in many different spheres. It would be presumptuous for me to enter into any details of the various new measures and new ideas in the field of management that we must accept. I think it will be enough to say that there are a whole variety of very exciting new avenues that have opened.

There are questions of labour relations and personnel policy; there is this whole question of project planning and materials management; then there is the question of accountability and evaluation of programmes which, to my mind, has been one of our weakest links so far in the chain of administration; then there is this whole new field of sample surveys and statistical studies in the field which would strengthen the purely theoretical aspects of management and give the managers a much closer feel of the actual problem in the field; then there is this whole question of marketing problems and advertising which, to my mind, is one of the most stimulating fields in India today.

I have just mentioned at random a spectrum of these new problems that have arisen as the result of the development of economies in advanced countries and I would like to stress the fact that unless we are able to take advantage of these new techniques and these new ideas, we will lag still further behind. Already the gap between the developed nations and the developing nations is widening and I would

venture to say that we in India really must become the link between the two because we do have the basic infrastructure in industry, in commerce, in technology and in science, which should enable us, given an adequate concentration of resources, to achieve a managerial breakthrough within the next decade or so.

I would like, on this occasion, to make a few general remarks with regard to management training. Firstly training is important both *ab initio* and from time to time in the career of a manager. *Ab initio* training is certainly important; I think it is as important as training to become a doctor or an engineer. You would not dream of allowing anybody to practise medicine unless he has gone through a proper medical college and has got the requisite degree. Why is that we agree to place projects worth crores of rupees in the hands of people who have never had any training whatsoever for the job? I think we have got to appreciate that *ab initio* training for management is no longer a luxury, it is an absolute necessity. But in addition to the *ab initio* training, there has got to be a series of refresher courses throughout the career of a manager. Because, as I said right in the beginning, the world is changing very rapidly and, even if you have received your degrees in 1969, it does not mean that your knowledge will still be up-to-date in 1979. In fact, unless opportunities are given to you to renew your contacts with such institutions or with the new managerial techniques, the *ab initio* training itself will rapidly get outdated.

The second point I would like to make is that training is important at all levels, not merely at the very highest levels but even at the second and third rank of management, because it is no use merely having the head of an organization or undertaking trained and giving him below that a whole army of untrained people. Training has got to become part

of the general approach to administration and therefore it must be given at appropriate levels all the time.

Thirdly, training must also become increasingly specialized. You remember the old theory of the Indian Civil Servant —the Periclean theory of happy versatility in which a man who had been through Civil Service was supposed to have so developed his aptitudes and his intelligence that it was possible for him to deal with almost any problem that came up. Well, perhaps that may have been true fifty years ago. It is no longer true today. The fact is that howsoever intelligent and brilliant a person may be, unless he has a certain specialized training he will not really be able to deal with the problems that face his organization and that face his country. Therefore, the old theory of the general practitioner has got to give way to a new theory of the specialized manager. And when I talk of specialization, I do not mean narrowing of vision, I do not mean a constriction of imagination. What I do mean is a certain special interest in the field in which that man is going to function. I think it is extremely important, and this leads me to another point that I wish to make and that is the development of consultancy services.

Fourthly, there is a great shortage in this country of proper consultancy at various levels. I deal, for example, with tourism. Now many people come to me and say, "We want to build a hotel; is there any specialized consultancy developed in this country which can really tell us what sort of a hotel we should build or what should be the optimum size of the hotel?" and so on. Of course, I refer such requests to my distinguished friend, Prof. Matthai, and this Institute certainly rises to the occasion; but the fact remains that, unless we do develop specialized consultancies for the field of tourism, the field of engineering and so on, it will not be possible for us to meet the requirements of the modern age.

And the fifth point that I want to make is that, howsoever technical or specialized management may become, it can never afford to forget the human factor. As I said about the Plan, management is not merely manipulation; it is transformation. What we need in this country today is not only a clever reorganization of our various structures; we need a basic transformation. We must remember that we are fighting today against time. We are already very far behind in the race for progress, and one-seventh of the human race that lives in India can no longer afford to crawl along at the speed at which it is going. We are going to have a breakthrough, we are going to have a new dynamism, and this brings me to the final point that I would like to make, and that is that managers, while they must be intellectually trained and become professionally competent in their spheres of specialization, should also have a deeper psychological motivation.

Today, the post-Independence generation to which I also have the privilege of belonging, is on trial. There was one generation that struggled and suffered so that India may become free. Today it is our generation that has taken up the burden of completing this freedom, because mere political freedom has very little relevance if it is not accompanied by economic transformation and social emancipation. And therefore, the managers, while certainly they must look to their personal interests and their personal advancement, have got to have a deeper commitment to certain socio-economic goals that we have accepted. The manager must burn—if I may use that expression—with an inner fire and dedication to build this new India; he must consider himself a pioneer in the field of nation-building; he must have before his eyes a vision of the new India that we are trying to create—an India that is politically integrated, that is economically prosperous, that is socially emancipated, and

that is spiritually dynamic. This is the type of India that you and I together have got to build and, therefore, while congratulating this very fine institution upon its achievement so far in the field of management, and while congratulating the graduates of the year, I would end by hoping that the Indian Institute of Management will pour forth into society a steady stream of managers not only intellectually and technically equipped to deal with the problems of building a new India, but also with a deep inner dedication towards the vision of the new India we are hoping to build.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR

As I see it, the key to the success of our vast experiment in democratic socialism lies essentially in the efficiency of our public sector undertakings. While the private sector also has a crucial role to play, it is the performance of the public sector that will largely determine the degree of success which our Plans achieve, thus vitally influencing the destiny of one-seventh of the human race living in our country. It is not possible in a short article to cover the various intricate problems connected with the success of the public sector. However, in the light of such experience as I have gained in the last three years as a Minister dealing with several public sector corporations, I will try and highlight some of the aspects that I consider to be most important.

The first pre-requisite for the success of our public sector undertakings is that their autonomy should be genuinely respected. As far as Government is concerned, while the Minister has the clear responsibility of laying down policy and seeing that it is followed, he and his senior officials must scrupulously resist the temptation to interfere in matters of detail. As regards parliamentary control, the practice in Great Britain seems to be that questions with regard to public sector corporations are very sparingly allowed. In our country, however, I have even had to answer a question with regard to the provision of toothpicks in Indian Airlines! While no one can deny the overall accountability to Parliament, the point I am making is that the autonomy of public sector corporations is a comparatively new concept and must therefore be carefully nurtured by all concerned.

The second necessity is to choose the Chairmen and top executives for these corporations with the greatest care, so

as to ensure that the best talent in the country is associated with their progress. To look upon these key positions as routine Government jobs or, worse still, as a means of political or personal patronage, is to do grave disservice to the public sector. The persons selected should be men not only of integrity, but also of ability and drive, because the top men in any organization largely set the pace and style for the whole undertaking.

Thirdly, the recruitment policy for public sector corporations should be more flexible and imaginative than is often possible under rigid Governmental rules. We must remember that the public sector is a national responsibility, and to fulfil it effectively we will have to spread our net wide and involve a broad spectrum of talent from different walks of life. It would be wrong if public sector undertakings are confined only to governmental cadres for their recruitment, and a necessary corollary is that if it is to compete with the private sector for talent its terms of service should also be competitive.

Fourthly, the financial procedures for the public sector must have more flexibility and resilience than is met with in Government. Many of the public sector undertakings function at home and abroad in a highly competitive situation, and if they are hamstrung by financial rigidities this places them at a very unfair disadvantage. I am not suggesting that there should not be adequate financial accountability in the public sector; indeed the very fact that public finances are involved means that each rupee spent belongs to the vast masses of our country and needs to be carefully husbanded. What I wish to stress is that a wider financial initiative and a greater flexibility in the utilization of budgeted funds is essential if the public sector is to play a really effective role and justify the vast investments that have been made in it since Independence.

Finally, it is quite clear that employees and workers of public sector undertakings have a very special responsibility to the nation. While they are as much entitled as any other worker to a fair deal, if not more so, they must also realize that they are working not for any private interest but for the broader national good. It is therefore imperative that the workers in these public sector undertakings should realize their crucial role in the development of a socialist economy. Socialist rights are indeed sacrosanct, but they cannot be enjoyed without the acceptance of socialist responsibilities.

A NATION'S STRENGTH

Man is essentially a social animal, and this postulates the necessity for dynamic leadership if mankind is to move ahead. In the *Bhagavad Gita* the importance of leadership is clearly enunciated:

Yadyad aacharati sreshthah tattadevetaro janah
Sa yat pramaanam Kurute Lokastadanuvartate

"Always will people imitate a leader, following the example set by his action". Plato's Republic is basically an attempt to ensure for society continued leadership of high calibre, and such examples can be multiplied from the classic literature of all lands. Today, poised precariously as mankind is between the prospect of incredible progress and the danger of utter annihilation, this question of leadership assumes added significance. With the world rapidly being knit closer together by science and technology, the effects of inadequate leadership in any one country can easily spread over vast areas, threatening a global conflagration. The importance of correct leadership is therefore more crucial in this nuclear age than it ever was before.

We are at present engaged in the exciting task of building a new and dynamic India. After centuries of servitude we have at last come into our own as a great unified nation, stretching thousands of miles from Kashmir in the north down to Kanya Kumari in the south, and an almost equal distance from Gujarat in the west to Assam in the east. Having achieved political freedom, we are now engaged in the quest for economic betterment and social emancipation without which freedom remains merely an empty shell. In this process of nation-building we come up against numerous

difficulties. It is not easy to shake off the dead weight of centuries and surge forward into the nuclear age. Problems of economic development, political integration and social emancipation are grave and forbidding, and if we are to deal with them successfully we require leadership endowed with courage, competence and imagination.

Indeed a nation's strength depends to a considerable extent on its leadership, not merely in politics but in all fields of national life including commerce and industry, agriculture and administration. In all these spheres we need men and women with modern minds and a fresh vision, who can cut through the cobwebs of doubt and inefficiency that surround us and take the nation rapidly forward towards the goals of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity so eloquently affirmed in our Constitution. Political leadership, of course, is crucially important, particularly in a democracy where Government is by the consent of the people and for their benefit. It has been said that democracy is more difficult to live with than tyranny, because it requires of its citizens a constant series of decisions whereas authoritarian regimes impose all decisions from above. It is equally true that a democracy is more difficult to *lead* than a dictatorship, because its leadership must constantly be responsive to the needs and aspirations of vast masses of people, to whom it must render a regular account and from whom it is periodically required to obtain a fresh mandate.

A democracy such as ours requires a broad spectrum of political leadership, covering not only the many thousand Panchayats that exist in this country but also numerous other levels of public participation in Government as well as party functioning. With the massive widening of our political base as the result of universal adult franchise the problem arises of ensuring a high standard of political leader-

ship. A democracy can only flourish if all those connected with representative institutions maintain at least a basic minimum standard of parliamentary decorum. Recent incidents in several of our State legislatures lead us to wonder as to whether this basic presumption still holds good. If it does not, then our whole fabric of democratic institutions is in danger of being destroyed. Democracy seems to be on the wane in Asia and Africa, and there is no room for complacency whatsoever. This makes the necessity for adequate political leadership even more important, and I would like to share with you some ideas as to what are the qualities necessary for dynamic national leadership in a democratic nation like ours.

It would seem to me that the first prerequisite for a leader is to have what I can only term a 'spiritual' commitment to democracy and public welfare. This essentially indefinable quality combines a dedication to the public good, not merely on the intellectual and emotional planes but on a higher moral and spiritual level; a commitment to the development of all that is best in our culture and heritage, and a special concern for the welfare of the backward and weaker sections of society. Without this quality, leadership is always in danger of degenerating into sheer opportunism and the quest for personal power, both of which are disastrous for democracy.

The second essential quality is the capacity to communicate, not only with colleagues and the immediate environment but in the broader context with our vast masses which are involved in the democratic process. In a country as large as ours, with an infinite variety of custom and tradition, language and culture, and an electorate still largely uneducated, this capacity is extremely important at the national level. A leader, though he should certainly have a strong political base in his own region, must be able to

communicate with a much broader segment of the nation, not merely on the verbal plane but emotionally and intellectually. Without this his efficiency will be strictly limited.

Thirdly, it is essential that the leader shoud have the courage to subordinate lesser interests to the larger national good. With our broad federal structure it is all too easy to get involved in local issues, sometimes to the detriment of that larger national integration which is so essential if we are to develop into a truly great nation. A national leader must have the national perspective always in mind, and must weigh every decision and every move against this background. This indeed is one of the important ways in which our much talked of national integration can be strengthened. It is true that we have emerged from the very grave crisis that confronted us last year with our unity unimpaired, even strengthened, but constant vigilance is essential and our national leadership must remain actively dedicated to further strengthening national unity.

Fourthly, a leader must have the all-important capacity to take decisions. Decision-making is often an excruciatingly hard task, as it is seldom a question of a clear choice between right and wrong, good and evil. Rather it implies a careful weighing of various alternatives and a delicate assessment of the complex issues involved. At some stage or the other, however, a clear-cut decision must be taken, even at the risk of incurring the hostility or displeasure of a section of public opinion. This capacity to take clear decisions is one of the essential functions of a leader. Too often do we allow a policy of drift and indefinite postponement to hamstring our thrust towards progress, and it has been proved time and again that in the long run such dilly-dallying results in much more trouble than it seeks to avoid.

Fifthly, and this is closely related to the process of decision-making, is the necessity to develop a clear scale of

priorities regarding the various issues concerned with national development, particularly economic progress. So much is desirable, and yet so little is possible. We can make the best use of our limited means only if we have a clear picture as to the ends which must receive priority, otherwise there is the danger of getting bogged down in a vast series of undertakings which fritter away our resources without achieving any substantial result. While expert advice is extremely valuable in this context, it is ultimately the task of political leadership to lay down a coherent scale of priorities which is most suited to national requirements at any given time.

Sixthly, a leader in the modern age should be aware of the mighty scientific revolution that is sweeping across the world and has begun increasingly to impinge upon our own national development. We live in an age of science and technology in which there is an unprecedented increase in the tempo of change in almost all fields of human life and activity. It is the task of a leader to appreciate the importance of this factor and turn it wherever possible to our national advantage. This is not to say that every leader should be a scientist, although an increase in scientist-politicians would no doubt be a welcome development. It means rather that a national leader must be aware of the broad implications of the scientific revolution that is transforming the world before our very eyes, and must unreservedly accept the importance of technology in our economic development.

Seventhly, a national leader should also have a lively awareness of the world beyond the frontiers of India. It is true that we are a great nation containing almost a sixth of the entire human race, but no nation howsoever large can be an island unto itself, and we have of necessity to function as part of a world order. Indeed one who knows only

India lacks an important dimension which is of tremendous value in the task of providing dynamic leadership. This assumes special significance in the context of what I referred to earlier, the dire destructive potential of modern science. Willy-nilly we are being driven to accept the concept of a world order if the future existence of mankind is to be ensured. The establishment of such an order, however, necessitates enlightened leadership in the nations of the world, and we in India must necessarily play a leading role in this process.

Having outlined what I consider to be the more important qualities which should inform our national leadership, I must mention the danger that always exists with regard to the misuse of this power. Although we can take justifiable pride in having maintained the world's largest democracy intact since independence, there is no dearth of instances in which political power has been blatantly utilized for corrupt ends. A number of institutional and procedural devices have been suggested—and several adopted—to root out corruption, but in the final analysis this can only be remedied when we develop a public morality which spurns the use of such means, for it remains true that a society gets the sort of Government that it deserves. Indeed if the qualities of leadership that I have referred to in fact become widely available, this itself to a considerable extent will be an insurance against corruption and misuse of power.

Finally, there arises the question as to our leadership potential. Although the entire younger generation by very definition is a potential storehouse of leadership, I feel that our University youth provides the richest reservoir from which the future leaders of this country will be forthcoming. I have had occasion to travel fairly extensively and to visit a number of University centres in the country. It is deeply

encouraging to see that despite the economic and other difficulties which these young men and women have to face they are full of energy and idealism. The real question is whether we have the ability and imagination to tap this reservoir, to fan the sparks of youthful idealism into bright flames that would illumine the future of India—the India of our dreams for the building of which countless generations have struggled and sacrificed; an India socially emancipated, economically prosperous, politically integrated, militarily strong and spiritually dynamic.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERSHIP

Twenty years—an infinitesimal period of time when seen against the vast sweep of our history that stretches thousands of years back into the very dawn of civilization. And yet these last twenty years have been unique for India, because she has been a practising democracy in an Asia where democratic functioning has by and large collapsed. With all its failings and weaknesses we are proud of our system of government under which one-seventh of the human race enjoys rights and liberties still unpossessed by a majority of mankind. But twenty years after independence is a good time for us to stand back and take a long second look at our political system so that we can see what needs to be done to remedy its deficiencies.

That these deficiencies exist in substantial measure, and that freedom has not brought with it the expected millennium, will surely be admitted. It is also true that it would be extremely unwise to assume that democracy will necessarily persist in this country just because it has been enshrined in our Constitution. Unless it is able to meet national requirements in the spheres of social emancipation, economic sufficiency, political dynamism and national unity it is always possible that the system may collapse, bringing down with it the most promising experiment in peaceful and democratic progress ever undertaken by a vast, developing nation in this century.

Our inquiry must therefore be directed towards discovering reasons why our performance has not been as good as expected, and towards evolving methods to remedy our shortcomings. A crucial aspect of this is the whole question of adequate leadership. This is indeed a prerequisite for

the successful functioning of any political system, because it is always a comparatively small number of persons who at any given time are responsible for moulding the contours of national policy. In the broad sense of the term, leadership is necessary in all spheres of public activity, not only politics but other vital areas such as industry and commerce, education and labour, administration and defence organization. As politics in contemporary society is in such a predominant position, however, it is in the political sphere that adequate leadership becomes most essential. I will therefore try and share with you some thoughts regarding the role and responsibilities of political leadership in a democracy.

I think it is true that in an important sense the responsibilities of leadership in a democratic system are greater than in an authoritarian one, because while in the latter responsibility is concentrated in one or a few persons upon whose bidding the rest of society must act, in a democracy this is diffused and shared by a wide spectrum of political functionaries. Also, political responsibility in a democracy gains an added dimension by virtue of the fact that it is constantly accountable to the electorate and cannot therefore function in an arbitrary manner.

To my mind there are three essential qualities for effective democratic leadership—national vision, dynamism and integrity. By national vision I mean the ability to take not merely a regional or party view of issues but to look upon them in a national perspective. Ours is a vast and varied country, and it is inevitable that elected representatives will be committed to certain regional problems and demands. Indeed this is necessary if they are to be truly representative of their electorate, and with the linguistic reorganization of India now almost complete regional demands will obviously assume added importance. While the

problems of India are so vast that many of them must necessarily be tackled on a regional basis, it is nevertheless a test of true leadership to be able to place them in a national perspective and have the courage to subordinate the smaller interest to the larger whenever the necessity for this arises. In fact the whole concept of national integration tends to lose its meaning if regional claims are pressed in such a manner as to weaken the national interest and this is a responsibility which our political leadership can evade only at grave peril.

In the same context there should also be the capacity to transcend narrow party loyalties if they conflict with the broader national interest. The party system provides an essential ingredient without which parliamentary democracy would lose much of its meaning, but once elected a true leader must be able to rise above purely party considerations and consider himself representative of the entire electorate of the country. If this is not done there is a real danger that the texture of national unity will be weakened, because in the last analysis the interests of political parties must be subordinated to larger national requirements. Anything which weakens the nation automatically weakens every political party.

The second essential ingredient of effective leadership is dynamism, by which I mean the ability to function actively both in the physical and the intellectual sense. Placed as we are at a crucial juncture of our national history, the emergence of a younger and more dynamic leadership both at the Centre and in the States is a prerequisite for a real breakthrough to progress. I am not arguing that youth and dynamism necessarily go together. All of us know many young people who lack vitality to an extraordinary degree, while some elderly persons—Jawaharlal Nehru was a superb example—retain an essen-

tially youthful vitality until the very end. But it will be admitted that youth is at least conducive towards dynamism, and we will not be able to meet the present challenges to democracy unless our political system can yoke younger talent to its chariot. The post-independence generation of Indians must now, twenty years after freedom, become increasingly involved in the dynamics of political functioning.

Dynamism also implies the intellectual capacity to think and act in bold terms. The world in which we live is changing at a fantastic pace, much faster than most of us realize. In the last three or four decades science and technology have transformed the face of this planet, and today mankind stands at the crossroads in which one path leads to death and destruction while the other points the way to unprecedented progress and prosperity. At a time like this our political leadership must possess the intellectual dynamism necessary to grasp the immensity of the challenge and boldly take the decisions that are required. The impact of change on a traditional society sets up tensions which call for a high degree of political acumen if the two extremes of continued stagnation and violent revolution are to be avoided. Decision-making is an essential component of dynamism, and with its checks and balances it becomes all the more necessary that in a democracy leadership should possess the courage and the capacity to take firm decisions upon important matters without dithering or prevarication.

The third ingredient of true leadership is integrity. In the somewhat more superficial, though by no means unimportant, sense this implies honesty in financial matters. It should be unnecessary to stress this, but corruption at various levels of society continues to be one of the gravest challenges that democracy faces in this country. A true leader must, of course, possess integrity in this sense, but

integrity is also required in a deeper sense inasmuch as it represents a genuine commitment to democratic ideals and not merely to the outward forms of democracy. A democratic leader has to justify in every way the confidence of his electorate, and must have the capacity to share their pain and sorrow, their hopes and aspirations. This genuine empathy is not possible unless he possesses integrity in this sense of the term.

In a still more personal sense, integrity would imply the inner strength and equilibrium which enables one to meet with equanimity the alarums and excursions of contemporary politics. All who have been in public life know of those moments when the problems surrounding them appear insurmountable, and their ability to deal with them grossly inadequate. There are times when darkness gathers and one despairs of the breaking of the dawn. It is at such times that one has to call upon those inner reserves of strength and power with which every human being is ultimately equipped. Would it not be true to say that the ability to do so is one of the essential qualities of true leadership?

IDEALISM AND INDIAN POLITICS

THOMAS MANN ONCE wrote that "in our time the destiny of man presents its meaning in political terms". We find this to be increasingly true, because politics today impinge upon almost every aspect of human life and are no longer merely concerned with the governmental structure of a country. With the growing compulsions of industrialization and urbanization, economic development and social welfare, the power of the State has expanded immensely in the twentieth century and politics have become an all-pervasive affair. This is particularly so in countries with a democratic system of Government such as ours, replete with the paraphernalia of political parties and elections which take politics down to every village and every slum.

This being the case, it is alarming to see what a poor opinion people in general seem to have with regard to political ethics. Anyone who speaks of idealism and politics in the same breath is at once condemned as hopelessly unrealistic and utterly naive. In view of some press comments regarding the possibility of my joining active politics, this matter has come up often in recent conversation with friends.

I have been genuinely surprised at the large number of people who have sincerely cautioned me against taking such a step. I am being told that politics is an extremely dirty business, that there are no morals and scruples whatsoever in the realm of political functioning, that entering politics would mean having necessarily to stoop to the lowest level of chicanery and opportunism, that joining a political party implies accepting an exclusively party-oriented system of ethics, that the cut-throat factionalism which is everywhere rampant makes healthy political life an impossibility; in

short, that if I have any desire to retain some principles and standards of integrity I should give politics as wide a berth as possible. One friend, himself a politician of long standing, accused me of being far too forthright in my approach to politics, and insisted that if I sought to enter national politics with any degree of idealistic pretensions I would face certain disaster.

All this has set me thinking. Have politics in our country really come to such a sorry pass? Has the vibrant idealism of our great freedom movement so completely dissipated itself that there is no room left for anything except downright opportunism and deceit? Has the political legacy which we inherited from such towering idealists as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, completely evaporated? If this is so, then indeed our nation is doomed, because I fail to see how it is possible for us to build a great India without a certain basic commitment to ideals and to integrity.

The task before us is as exciting and challenging as it is beset with difficulties and problems. We have to break out of the rut of centuries and forge a new unity in this country; to shatter the economic barrier that stifles us and push forward into new realms of economic viability and administrative efficiency; to create a generation of Indians imbued with an enlightened patriotism and utterly dedicated to the welfare and progress of their nation. How is it possible to do all this if our politics, which in a democratic society play a crucial role in determining the contours of national policy, are indeed as corrupt as many people seem to believe?

The history of great nations shows that the period of their rise to greatness almost inevitably coincided with a deep upsurge of national idealism. To take two outstanding examples, the development of the United States of

America and of the Soviet Union into great powers was accompanied by an idealistic commitment which enthused millions of people in the task of dedicated nation-building. The methods and approach of these two countries may have been entirely different, but without this common factor neither could have succeeded. Even such an astounding misanthrope as Nirad C. Chaudhuri (who, incidentally, in his latest book *The Continent of Circe* has out-Bhuttoed Bhutto to emerge indisputably as the greatest living vilifier of Hinduism) has been constrained to write that "whatever clever people might say in defence of unscrupulousness in politics, and about its success, there is some power in the universe which sees to it that such cynicism does not pay and that nothing but what is inherently right ever succeeded".

In any case, there can be little doubt that the general opinion among the public with regard to politics and politicians is far from flattering. This itself is one of the measures of our failure since 1947. Almost twenty years have elapsed since we emerged into the sunlight of freedom after long centuries of servitude to foreign rule, but it would appear that in the public eye the stock of politics has steadily fallen since then. Unless something is done soon to remedy this unhappy situation, not only any particular political party but our entire system of democratic politics is likely to fall into irretrievable disrepute. Already, what a poet has called "the silent hammers of decay" are hard at work in our body politic, and in many cases they are not so silent. With the election of the present Prime Minister the torch of leadership in this country has been passed to a new generation of Indians. Can this generation, and the succeeding one to which I belong, redeem politics from the state into which it seems to have fallen?

VISVA-BHARATI SAMAVARTANA

To Visva-Bharati, this great institution of learning which stands here in Santiniketan as a living monument to the genius of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, I bring warm greetings and affection from Kashmir, which can well be called 'Sarasvati-niketan' because it has traditionally been a renowned centre of learning and scholarship. Kashmir was always the crest-jewel of Mother India, and today in our secular and democratic Republic it glows with even brighter glory than in the past. Its beauty has attracted the unwelcome attention of our two closest neighbours, each of which has forcibly and illegally occupied a considerable portion of its territory. But I express the deep sentiments of every Indian when I say that under the leadership of your distinguished Acharya, Shri Lal Bahadurji, the nation is united in its determination to safeguard its honour and defend its territorial integrity with which Kashmir is indissolubly bound.

This is my first visit to Santiniketan, although I have always wanted to make the pilgrimage to this beautiful place sanctified by the association of a man who must be considered one of the outstanding figures of the modern world. Bengal played a truly remarkable role in the mighty Indian renaissance that began here in the nineteenth century and led before the middle of the twentieth to our emancipation from foreign rule after centuries of servitude. In this process it threw up a luminous galaxy of outstanding men in almost every field of human endeavour–religion and philosophy, poetry and literature, science and education, painting and music, law and public affairs. Of this galaxy Rabindranath Tagore was certainly one of the brightest stars.

One is amazed and awe-struck at his multifarious achievements and at the richness of his multi-faceted personality. A poet and playwright, musician and painter, educationist and patriot, Rabindranath Tagore had that extra indefinable quality of greatness that made him truly a universal man. Belonging as I do to the post-independence generation, to which the large majority of you in the audience also belong, I never had the privilege of meeting the poet in person. But a man of his stature lives not only for his own age but for all posterity, and we today who are engaged in the exciting task of building a new and dynamic India can draw from his works and teachings fresh power and inspiration. In particular, we can derive much benefit from his enlightened educational philosophy.

It is clear that his concept of a University was entirely different from that which is still commonly accepted. He insisted that "universities should never be made into mechanical organizations for collecting and distributing knowledge" and his vision of Visva-Bharati was a modern *Tapovana* where young men and women would pursue the quest for truth without having to undergo the rigours of a mechanical and soul-killing regimentation, where they would seek not only knowledge but wisdom, and where they would strive for fulfilment not through developing a harsh acquisitive instinct but by seeking that "harmony with all things"—the *Eakatwam* of Upanishads—which is the essence of true emancipation. Even during the very short time that I have been in Santiniketan I have noted with pleasure that you have retained an atmosphere of pastoral simplicity which is in refreshing contrast to the noise and tension which pervade so many urban intellectual centres in our country.

It would be absurd, however, for me to talk to you about the educational philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore, because Visva-Bharati is a centre for the study of his teachings and

all of you are much closer to them than I can expect to be. I will rather try and share with you a few thoughts on what I feel is the crucial challenge that faces the younger generation today, and the role that our Universities should play in preparing it for the tasks that lie ahead. I hope my elders will excuse me the discourtesy for addressing my remarks in particular to the young men and women who are gathered today on the occasion of this *Samavartana Utsava.* You are in fact the central figures of today's function, and having only recently completed a University education myself I venture to hope that my address will not be merely a sermon delivered from above but a dialogue where our minds may meet in creative confrontation.

A human being is perhaps the most complex entity that exists on this planet. The product of millions of years of evolution, man today stands at a crucial cross-roads of his destiny. Scientific advance and technological development have placed in his hands power, the very existence of which could hardly have been imagined even a few decades ago. But this is a mixed and dangerous blessing. On the one hand it has given mankind the ability to banish for ever the spectres of poverty, disease and ignorance from the face of the earth, and to ensure a steadily rising standard of living for all the peoples of the world. On the other it has created weapons whose capacity for destruction is staggering in its immensity, and which have for the first time brought within the realm of possibility the extinction not only of the human race but of almost every form of life that exists on this planet.

In this fearful choice that faces humanity it is our generation that has been called upon by destiny to make the crucial decision, for by the end of the twentieth century the fate of humanity will probably have been decided finally one way or the other. It is therefore a matter for deep concern that while there has been such fantastic scientific and

technological development, the inner growth of mankind seems to have been arrested. If one thing is clear it is that scientific growth and spiritual stagnation cannot continue side by side for any length of time without culminating in complete disaster. It is, therefore, for us to look into ourselves and see whether we are capable of meeting the mighty challenge that we have been called upon to face, and I would submit that it is the task of a University to fit the young men and women who pass through its portals with the means whereby they can surmount this challenge effectively.

Although a human being is an irreducible and indivisible entity, it is yet possible to make a broad distinction between the body, the mind and the spirit for purposes of analysing the tasks that a University must fulfil. Let us start with the body. India today needs young men and women who are physically strong, pulsating with energy and dynamism. We can no longer afford the luxury of lethargy and laziness, for the constructive tasks before us are immense and the University student must necessarily be in the vanguard of constructive development. A sound body is the first pre-requisite for progress in other fields, and a University must therefore provide an environment in which the body can develop into a healthy and finely tuned mechanism capable of sustained achievement. In this context one can well understand Rabindranath Tagore's horror for the confines of an urban institution, and his insistence that education must be imbibed in pastoral surroundings where the students can be in tune with nature and partake of the unhurried rhythms and harmonious melodies of the countryside. I am sure that you who have the privilege of studying in Santiniketan derive full benefit from the congenial surroundings here, and strive in every way to build your bodies into strong and effective instruments for national service.

We may turn next to the mind. It is of course accepted almost by definition that a University must provide intellectual guidance to its students, but this is all too often confused merely with stuffing their minds with large quantities of facts and figures, most of which are utterly useless in their future lives. The real aim of a University should be to open fresh horizons in the students' minds, to create in them a love for learning and the capacity to think creatively. I do not for a moment imply that University education should not have a utilitarian bias; my point is that the process and method of imparting the education should be creative and not mechanical.

Let there be no mistake; India today—poised as it is on the threshold of a bold lead into the nuclear age—cannot afford to indulge in mediocrity. We live in an age of science and technology, and if you are to become effective instruments in the service of the nation you must use every moment of your studying time to equip yourself as fully as possible in your chosen fields. But this does not mean that in acquiring this knowledge you should so narrow your vision that the broader perspective of life gets lost in the intricacies of your text books. As the distinguished founder of Visva-Bharati always insisted, the aim of education must be a wholeness, a completeness of personality, not a warping due to pedantic and mechanical routine.

And then the mind is a many-splendoured organism; quite apart from academic study there are other aspects that require sustenance, particularly the aesthetic sensibility. The perception of beauty, the capacity to appreciate and absorb the beauty that exists all around us—in the treasure house of nature as well as the creative works of human art—is one of the greatest gifts of mankind. Any University that ignores this dimension of the human mind and does not seek to develop in its students this artistic awareness,

is falling far short of its ideal. Here again Visva-Bharati is in an enviable position, embodying as it does the vision of a great poet, musician and artist.

Let me digress for a moment from my main theme and look closer into this question of artistic inspiration. It is clear that poetry or any other form of artistic achievement is born not in our reasoning and calculating mind but from other regions of our psyche, the workings of which are to most of us virtually a closed book. We sit under the open sky, a cloud shaped like an airy fortress, or a prancing steed, or a distant ship, passes by—and from out of the depths of our being a poem is born. We sit with a musical instrument, tuning its strings to match our own inner harmony, and our heart swells up in joy as a song breaks from our lips. We stand before our canvas, brush in hand and paints arrayed before us, and from the infinite depths of the formless void a shape emerges before us and we begin to paint. It is impossible to determine what it is that actually happens when an artistic inspiration descends, but it is clear that the environment plays an important part. A University, therefore, if it is to fulfil its true educational function, must provide not only systematic study in specified fields of knowledge but also strive to encourage the artistic sensibilities of its students by providing a suitable environment and necessary sympathetic guidance from the teachers.

And again, there is music, which is one of the great gifts of mankind, bringing us solace in the dark nights of misery and pain, and added joy in our moments of achievement and exultation. Music it is that awakens in us a strange longing for the unknown, provides us with our first glimpse into that eternal harmony which pervades the cosmos, and lifts our hearts in prayer and gratitude towards the divine. The genius of Rabindranath Tagore fully comprehended this elevating power of music, and his songs resound today not

only throughout Bengal but in the four corners of India. A University which does not seek to bring its students into contact with music is failing in its duty of furthering their integral development, howsoever competent it may be in imparting more utilitarian knowledge. Did not the poet write:

> "It was my songs that taught me all the lessons
> I ever learnt; they showed me secret paths,
> they brought before my sight many a star on
> the horizon of my heart".

The body and the mind; but without the spirit both these are dead objects, incapable not merely of growth but even existence. We touch here the very crux of the eternal human mystery, the true centre of all activity and all existence. The luminous spirit is everywhere, all pervading. As Rishi Angiras exclaims in the *Mundaka Upanishad*:

> *Brahma Vedamamrutam Purastaad*
> *Brahma Dakshinataschottarena.*
> *Adhaschordwamcha prasrutam*
> *Brahmaivedam Viswamidam Varishtam.*

And yet, though it is everywhere, it is within ourselves that we must first strive to apprehend it. The modern Rishi has written in *Gitanjali*:

> "The same stream of life that runs through my
> veins night and day runs through the world
> and dances in rhythmic measures".

True education can in no circumstances neglect the quest for the spirit, for the reality that pervades the entire cosmos. I am not making an appeal for religious education in the constricted sense of the term; I am rather suggesting that the ethos of a University should be conducive towards the

inner development of the students and place before them the ideal of spiritual growth that is so cardinal a feature of our cultural heritage. While the mind grows in company the soul reveals itself in silence. There must be in a residential University times when the students are encouraged to devote themselves to quiet contemplation or meditation, so that they can develop a deeper awareness of the true perspective of living, a wiser insight into the reality that underlies fleeting events.

And so a University should ideally be a place where the body grows strong and vigorous, the mind competent and artistic, the spirit calm and luminous. But this is only the beginning, the preparation. Once you leave the portals of a University you have to plunge joyfully into the flux of life. I hope nothing I have said so far has given the impression that I am advocating a withdrawal from the challenge of life or a retreat into solitude. On the contrary, I find that one of the most appealing aspects of Rabindranath Tagore's writings is his joyous and positive life affirmation. "Mother", he writes, "it is no gain, thy bondage of finery, if it keep one shut off from the healthful dust of the earth, if it rob one of the right of entrance to the great fair of common life".

And how indeed can any of us today seek to retreat from the world when there is so much to be done in the service of the nation. We are yet on only the first rung of the ladder of progress, having achieved independence less than two decades ago. It is the younger generation that has to build the new India of our dreams, brick by laborious brick, until it stands as a monument truly worthy of our great heritage. For this you must labour tirelessly in many spheres. In the social sphere you have to break away from the constricting confines of the past, from the bonds that separate man from man and seek to confine us within the strait-jacket of caste or community. You have to destroy once and for all the soul-

corroding practice of untouchability that militates so violently against all canons of human dignity and spiritual equality. You have to realize, not merely in theory but in actual life, that the various religions which peacefully co-exist in this mighty land of ours are in fact so many different approaches to the same truth, and that the spiritual reality which they all seek far transcends any of our petty differences and ignorant squabbles.

In the sphere of economic development you must realize that as long as millions of our countrymen live in squalor and poverty, not sure when they will next get a square meal, as long as lakhs of children are still deprived of even elementary education, as long as women are without shelter and men without work, as long as the fine mansions of the few mock the wretched hovels of the many, our freedom is not and cannot be considered complete. You must strive your utmost to speed up the process of economic growth by increasing productivity and efficiency in all spheres of life, of course with one significant exception. Whatever else we may or may not do, we must at all costs slow down the rate of population growth that militates so violently against our prosperity and dilutes almost all the progress that we succeeded in making in other fields.

In the sphere of politics you must strive earnestly to strengthen the roots of our democracy. It would be dangerously unwise to assume that the future of democracy in India is assured merely because it has been enshrined in our Constitution, for it is still a tender sapling that needs careful nurturing if it is to grow tall and strong. But even more important is the necessity for you to develop the true spirit of nationalism that will override all the fissiparous and divisive elements existing in our body politic and ensure that the unity of this great nation of ours—stretching as it does from Kashmir in the North to Kerala in the South,

from Gujarat in the West to Assam in the East—will never be placed in jeopardy.

We have only recently emerged from our gravest ordeal since independence, and it was deeply inspiring to see how—on the very day that the Indian soil in Kashmir was invaded on the 5th August—the entire nation rose as one man to defend national honour and integrity. The South and North, the East and West, the rich and the poor, Hindu and Muslim, Sikh and Jain, Christian and Parsi, all were united in the determination to throw back the invader and in their willingness to shed their blood to vindicate the freedom of India. This unity, however, must become a permanent feature of our national life if India is to take its rightful place as one of the great nations of the world. It should not require periodic external threats to unite us, for even after the rulers of China and Pakistan have seen the folly of their ways we will still have to fight the battle against want and disease, poverty and ignorance. It is for you—the youth of India—to provide this vibrant nationalism that the country so urgently requires at this crucial period of her history.

But in the world today, living as it is in the thermonuclear age, there is a force even more powerful than nationalism that must ultimately triumph over national animosities if mankind is to survive. I refer, of course, to internationalism, to the deep bond of spiritual kinship that unites members of the human race throughout the globe quite regardless of their national differences and conflicts. Rabindranath Tagore was always clear about this deep human unity that transcends national barriers. Indeed, the motto that he chose for Visva-Bharati— *Yatra visvam bhavatyekaneedam* —clearly reflects his breadth of outlook, his all encompassing *weltanschauung*, his insistence that a University must in fact be universal and not confined merely within the bounds of its own nation. You must also understand this unity and

keep it constantly in mind despite the conflicts and tensions that we may have to face in our relations with some foreign powers. Indeed, howsoever misguided and aggressive the present rulers of Pakistan and China may be, we must never develop a hatred for the *people* of those two great countries who—like common people throughout the world—must crave for peace and friendship despite the dictatorial regimes to which they are subjected.

These, then, are the tasks before you, and I venture to hope that here in Santiniketan, inspired by Gurudev's sublime vision, you will fit yourselves to fulfil them. It is customary for Convocation speakers to give advice; mine would only be this: throughout your lives keep before you the twin ideals of inner development and national well-being. You will meet with discouragements on the path. Many of you may find yourselves in acute financial distress, striving desperately to make both ends meet. You may be misunderstood or come up against callousness and cruelty. There may be days when all appears hopeless, and dark nights when you will begin to despair of the coming of the dawn. But always remember, my friends, that if the flame of your idealism is pure, your inner aspiration steadfast, and your faith in the divine unquenchable, you will ultimately emerge triumphant. The dawn will break in all its glory; for has it not been written that truth alone will triumph, not falsehood, and will not the prayer that has echoed in our land from the very dawn of our civilization be answered—that we may be led from the unreal unto the real, from darkness unto light and from death unto immortality?

RABINDRA BHARATI

A YEAR AGO I had the privilege of visiting Visva-Bharati and delivering the address on the occasion of its Samavartana. At that time I paid my homage to Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest figures that India has thrown up in the course of its long and eventful history. Today I feel honoured to have yet another occasion to pay my tribute to the poet, this time at the Rabindra Bharati University dedicated to disseminating knowledge about Tagore and to the advancement of learning and culture, particularly in the branches of music and fine arts, dance and drama to which he was so deeply devoted.

Only three days ago I delivered the Convocation address at the Utkal University at Bhubaneshwar, where I made some comments upon our educational system and the crucial role that educated youth must play in building a new and dynamic India. As I do not wish to repeat myself, I will try instead to share with you today, particularly with students present on this occasion, some thoughts regarding the artistic and aesthetic component of education with which this University has been specially entrusted. Tagore's artistic vision was extraordinarily rich, covering not merely literature and poetry but music and dance, painting and drama. I would submit, however, that what makes the vision sublime is not merely its breadth but the fact that it is throughout suffused with a deep spiritual awareness combined with an overriding humanism and dedication to the service of suffering humanity. This is a combination that reflects truly the best in our cultural heritage, and from which we can today derive great benefit. Unfortunately in contemporary India this integration between spiritual

longing and service to humanity is difficult to find. Indeed—with a few distinguished exceptions such as the Ramakrishna Mission—religion and social service seem to have become divorced from each other, so that we either get persons committed to the formalistic aspects of religion, unmoved by the fact that millions of our countrymen are on the verge of starvation, or those who reject religion completely and thus cut themselves off from the life-giving springs of inspiration and wisdom that religion at its best can provide.

There are two broad schools of thought in regard to the essential nature of the human personality which, for want of any more accurate expressions, can be termed the materialistic and the spiritual. According to the former, all life is merely the result of a fortuitous conglomeration of atoms totally devoid of any ultimate purpose. We are what we are as the result of a purely chance material evolution; man is therefore only a material manifestation and embodies no principle that can exist apart from the body. On this reckoning, all that man can look forward to are a few brief years of transitory and precarious existence, after which the material components that make up his body dissolve and he ceases to be. Although this view has gained widespread support, it has led mankind into a blind alley where frustration and fear have come to dominate large spheres of human activity. There is today the world over a groping for a new sense of values, by no means a return to the rigid dogmas and superstitions of formalistic religion but a quest for a new ideology that would give hope and solace to mankind in this nuclear age.

It seems to me that the materialistic approach is one diametrically opposed to Gurudev's vision. As far as I have been able to understand him, he was essentially a poet of the spirit. Indeed his poems are superb artistic representa-

tions of the great truths enunciated in the Upanishads, embodying what might be called the spiritual world view whereby man is not a mere chance happening but the product of an essentially spiritual evolution having as its goal the final reconciliation between matter and spirit, being and becoming, man and the divine. According to this view man is essentially a spiritual entity, gathering and shedding material bodies through the ages until at last he reaches a stage when the doors of mystic communion swing open and he realizes that all along he had been carrying within him that which he sought without—the source of unceasing bliss which is his ultimate destiny. Man is not a transient happening but a child of immortal bliss—*amritasya putrah*—and the goal of human life is full realisation of the divine in man. I would submit that this sublime vision permeates Gurudev's work, and unless we appreciate this we will not really be able to grasp the full power of his vision.

In this ideological context it is possible to realize why the poet laid so much stress upon art and music. Man is a complex entity, and for his fullest development it is essential that the various facets of his personality be given ample scope to develop. Indeed the full flowering of the human being involves development in all spheres of his life—physical, intellectual, artistic, spiritual. Gurudev made this concept the corner-stone of his educational philosophy, and it would therefore be worthwhile to look a little closer into what it actually implies.

Let us start with the body. It is a common misconception that those believing in a spiritual ideology must necessarily neglect the physical side of human life. In fact the Vedas and the Upanishads contain numerous prayers for long and healthy life, and it should be quite obvious that without a healthy body and the basic necessities of life any sort of spiritual development is impossible. It is true that after a

certain level of attainment has been reached, it may be possible to pay less and less attention to bodily requirements but that is a later stage and it cannot therefore be argued that at least minimum material wants need not be satisfied. Tagore repeatedly stressed that the highest form of service to the divine was service to suffering humanity. In his immortal *Gitanjali* he expressed this conviction:

"Here is thy footstool and there rest thy feet where live the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost.

"When I try to bow to thee, my obeisance cannot reach down to the depth where thy feet rest among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost.

"Pride can never approach to where thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the lowliest and the lost.

"My heart can never find its way where thou keepest company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost".

How can any person who calls himself religious fail to be moved by the plight of suffering humanity everywhere around us? A great deal has recently been said about the cow, and as a Hindu I share this reverence. But should we not be at least as concerned about the welfare of man? What hope for spiritual progress is there for those who are tormented by the pangs of hunger and are not sure of even one meal a day? How can children grow into mature and integrated human beings if they do not get enough to eat or wear, and are deprived of shelter or education?

Once the basic bodily requirements are met, we can turn to the life of the mind—so rich and varied that its full potentialities have still not been exhausted in the thousands of years that the human race has existed upon this planet. Here we can perhaps make a division. On the one hand is the intellectual faculty of the human mind whereby he learns skills which can be put to practical use. Intellectual edu-

cation equips the mind of the student—well or otherwise, depending upon the calibre of the teacher, the curriculum and the taught—and living as we are in an age of science and technology it is necessary that our University students receive intellectual guidance of the highest quality.

The second great sphere of the activity of the mind, however, lies in the world of what may broadly be termed artistic endeavour. This aspect is equally if not more important than the purely intellectual function, involving as it does the emotional plane and also deeper psychic levels of the human personality. Gurudev Tagore rightly said that this should be given a prominent seat of honour in our educational system, not merely a tolerant nod of recognition. Indeed he saw clearly that it is in the artistic function that the human personality develops its unique dimension, and he therefore laid great stress upon art and on developing among students the capacity to perceive and appreciate beauty in all its facets. His approach was an integrated one, fusing all artistic endeavour into a single aesthetic experience.

This approach is evident in his dance-drama compositions which combine melodious music composed by him, dances the choreography of which he directed, and drama which he himself wrote. Late in his life he took to painting, and produced works of great merit in this medium also. It is indeed an extraordinary combination, reflecting the unique breadth of his artistic genius. The Ràbindra Bharati University rightly pays special attention to this aspect of the poet's vision, and I am sure that those of you who study here will take full advantage of this unique opportunity to participate in Tagore's art—not merely an outward participation but, what is far more important, an effort to penetrate into the spirit and philosophy of life that lay behind his artistic endeavours. Art must be looked upon as a medium for

finding our own selves, for probing beneath the outer layers of our minds into the vast depths that lie below.

It has always been a matter of regret to me that I did not learn the beautiful Bengali language. Its cadences and melody, specially as reflected in Rabindra Sangeet, appeal strongly to me. I felt the loss more when I realized the truly remarkable role that Bengal played in the Indian renaissance which began here in the nineteenth century and culminated in our national independence two decades ago. The full ambit of this role was revealed to me when I worked some years ago upon the political thought of another very great Bengali who was also a truly world figure—Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. Indeed I feel that this Rabindra Bharati University can well expand its scope to cover the great intellectual, artistic and spiritual renaissance in Bengal to which the Tagore family made such a distinguished contribution. Maharshi Debendranath was one of the pioneer social and religious reformers of modern India, and Rabindranath's many-splendoured achievements played an important part in the great movement for national independence.

It is thus inevitable and necessary that Bengali should be the primary medium of expression in this University. I would, however, like to affirm that Tagore belongs not merely to Bengal, or for that matter to India, but to the entire world. His superb artistic achievements, his unfailing humanism transcending all barriers of creed and religion, race and nationality, his deep commitment to the divinity inherent in man and the universe, make him one of the few truly universal men of the modern age. I would therefore venture to hope that the Rabindra Bharati University will make it a point to use English as well as Bengali, so that the full breadth of Tagore's appeal is retained. He has written in English some of the most beautiful poetry of this century, and it would be a tragedy if his poems and plays are not

studied here in English also. In fact the recent Tagore Centenary was the occasion for a massive translation of his works into our regional languages, and it would be a fitting gesture of national integration if adequate use of that material is made in the working of this University.

Today is your Convocation, and I would like in particular to felicitate the young men and women who have received degrees and to convey to you warm fraternal greetings from the student community of Jammu and Kashmir. Having studied in the Rabindra Bharati University, you must always carry within you the message and inspiration of the great poet. The world in which we live today is a beleaguered one, torn with hostility and suspicion and marred by strife and conflict. With the growth of nuclear weapons humanity stands poised precariously on the edge of a precipice, and it is the younger generation that will be called upon to make the crucial choice. Whether humanity survives until the end of the century enriched and ennobled by a wise application of science which can banish poverty from the face of the earth, or whether the year 2000 A.D. will see our planet a smouldering mass of radio-active lifelessness, will depend to a considerable extent upon the performance of young people like yourselves who are at present engaged in higher education.

Our own country is in the throes of modernization, and there are before us numerous unfinished tasks of social reconstruction, economic development and political integration which the younger generation will have to carry to completion. When you leave the portals of this University you will face many difficulties and dangers, and there will be a time when the world will appear to you to be devoid of hope, and life to be devoid of meaning. But if you have imbibed the true message of the Upanishads through the words of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, you will realize

that there is darkness only so that the light within us can shine more strongly; there are dangers only so that courage within us may leap up anew; there are disappointments only so that our faith and determination can go through the ordeal of fire and emerge the brighter. And ultimately you must remember the final goal of human existence, which the poet himself has expressed in his inimitable manner. I leave you with the inspiration of his words:

"I will meet one day the life within me, the Joy that hides in my life, though the days perplex my path with their idle dust.

"I have known it in glimpses, and its fitful breath has come upon me making my thoughts fragrant for a while.

"I will meet one day the Joy without me that dwells behind the screen of light—and will stand in the overflowing solitude where all things are seen as by their creator."

DOGRA-PAHARI FOLK SONGS

IN ONE OF HIS shorter poems Sri Aurobindo has a memorable line—"all music is only the sound of His laughter". There is indeed a certain divine quality in music that is found in no other form of artistic expression, and this is true alike of the rich majesty of classical music as also the lyrical quality of folk music the world over. India particularly, with its wide spectrum of language and tradition, has a rich store of folk music to which every region has made its contribution. This music expresses in a simple and direct manner the joys and sorrows, the triumph and tragedy, the shadow and sunlight, of rural India, and folk songs often tell us more about the essential life and character of a people than many solemn and ponderous tomes written by scholars.

The Dogra-Pahari people of North India, who inhabit a wide belt stretching from Poonch in the west to Simla in the east, have for centuries been famous for their valour and martial endowments. They also have a unique artistic tradition, reflected in the exquisite Pahari paintings which are the pride of collectors and museums the world over. In addition, though perhaps somewhat less well known, there is the rich reservoir of Dogra-Pahari folk songs which have great beauty and charm.

Life for the Dogra-Pahari people has never been easy. Although the land they inhabit is rich in minerals, forest wealth and hydro-electric potential, these resources have barely begun to be exploited. The mainstay of the people, therefore, has traditionally been either agriculture or service in the armed forces. The latter necessitates the young men having to venture forth at an early age, leaving behind them

their near and dear ones. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the songs speak of the anguish of separation. Romance has a tinge of sadness, and love is all the more poignant for the inevitability of prolonged absence. This is well expressed in one of the songs which I have translated thus:

Hark, the *chakors* call to each other through the
moonlit night,
see how the hearts of separated lovers pine for each other!
In the day-time they laugh and play amongst themselves,
but such is their fate
that wicked night intervenes and separates them;
they sigh all through the long night
and call loudly to each other, but in vain.
Only the sufferer can really know
the true nature of his suffering,
no one else can fully appreciate another's pain;
seeing the plight of the *chakors*
Samailpuri warns everyone
not to fall into the torment of love.

The theme of separation runs through this song also:

The clouds tempestuous gather overhead
and the cold rain-drops begin to fall,
but alas, my beloved comes not to me!
The *bulbuls* chatter in the flowering garden,
and from the distant hill-tops
reverberates the call of the beautiful peacocks,
high above the *papiha* sings in ecstasy
and from the bushes the *chakor*,
and the cold rain-drops begin to fall,
but alas, my beloved comes not to me!

The thunder rumbles, filling the sky with sound,
and in the trees the noisy birds twitter and sing,

the simple villagers carelessly leave their homes
unattended
and thieves have a field-day,
but alas, my beloved, the thief of my heart,
comes not to me!

The fabric of life is a mixture of joy and sorrow, and the Dogri folk songs reflect the innate joyousness and gaiety of the Pahari people despite the difficulties that they have to face. The following song tells of a bangle-seller who displays his wares on the village street:

The bangle-seller from Bathri comes
with a basket full of bangles on his head;
he roams through the cobbled streets
and looks upon the beauty and grace of the bride.

Life is a patchwork of shadow and sunlight;
tread carefully and with understanding;
otherwise, like the hilly streamlet in summer
and the fallen branch of the tree,
your happiness and beauty will wither away.

Hearing the sound of a motor-car
the simple inhabitants of Chakkwa
began to wail and lament.

At long last the marriage feast is over,
the bride in body is delivered to her spouse
but her heart and love have been shattered;
on one fair hand she wears the auspicious wedding
bangles
but on the other there is the bracelet of her beloved.

A popular folk song from Chamba describes a newly-wed bride who tastes the inexpressible joy of new love:

Gori is happy
in the snowy ranges of Chamba,

the rain falls in torrents
and her shawl is drenched.

Gori's snow-white teeth
are like a necklace of *champak* flowers,
she has gone to live in Chamba
but my heart remains sad here without her.

From the ranges of Chamba
sound the cheerful *naubats*,
and from Jammu
the beat of the *nagara* drums;
in every home are lovely girls
adorned with auspicious forehead marks,
Gori is happy
in the snowy ranges of Chamba.

There is also a deeply religious facet of Dogra-Pahari life, and many of the songs are devotional in character. These include popular songs describing the various months of the year, such as this one which covers six months of the traditional Hindu calendar and is sung by women in the evenings when they light little earthen lamps and walk around the sacred *tulsi* plant:

'*Rim-jhim*', '*Rim-jhim*' falls the rain upon her bed,
and she stands outside her house
listening entranced to the flute of Krishna.

Comes the month of *Chaitra*
and the garden overflows with flowers,
she gets up before the break of dawn
and picks them for her beloved.

Comes the month of *Vaisakha*
and the branches are loaded with flowers,
and the fragrance of the blossoms
fills the countryside.

Comes the month of *Jyeshtha*
and the hot sun scorches the earth,
my heart thirsts for your love
like fishes for water.

Comes the month of *Āshārh*
and the mountain streamlets swell to gushing torrents;
those alone who have meditated on Him
will cross safely the broad stream of life.

Comes the month of *Shrāwana*
and the maidens dress in flaming red
and shed their perfume in all directions.

Comes the month of *Bhādra*
and the nights are deep and dark,
those alone who have worshipped the sacred *tulsi* plant
will cross safely the broad ocean of Existence.

In common with the tradition that runs through the lower Himalayas, the Dogras are worshippers of the Goddess. This song is in praise of Jwalamukhi, the goddess of the flames, whose shrine in Kangra attracts lakhs of pilgrims every year:

O Mother Jwala, dwelling amidst the mountains,
fulfil our innermost desires.
A bright red garment adorns Your body
and on Your forehead is the yellow saffron mark,
the five-hued shawl covers Your head,
its edges shimmering with golden embroidery,
O Mother Jwala, dwelling amidst the mountains,
fulfil our innermost desires.

From all corners of the earth, O Mother,
pilgrims come and sing Thy praises,
having bowed before Thy shrine
all their cravings are satisfied,

O Mother Jwala, dwelling amidst the mountains,
fulfil our innermost desires.

Bramha, the Creator, recites the Vedas before Thee
and Shankara meditates upon Thee amidst the mountains;
the devotee who sings Thy praises
is granted by Thee his heart's desire,
O Mother Jwala, dwelling amidst the mountains,
fulfil our innermost desires.

The musical accompaniment to these songs is simple, consisting usually of a drum (*dholaki*) and often a flute. The tunes, however, are rich in beauty and variety, with all the freshness of the clear mountain air, and the charm of a sparkling hill stream. No one who has heard them can easily forget the lilting beauty of the Dogra-Pahari songs, which represent a brilliant facet of our rich folk-music heritage.

THE PERMANENCE OF CHANGE

Samyak Sarati iti samsaarah (that which constantly changes is the world). In the Indian tradition it has been accepted ever since the dawn of our civilization that the one permanent feature of existence is that it is in a state of constant flux. While this has always been true, its impact is becoming increasingly dramatic with the extraordinary growth of science and technology over the last few decades. There is hardly any aspect of human existence that has not undergone drastic change in the last 50 years, both in the macro as well as the micro aspects. Vast changes have taken place in world politics: millions in Asia and Africa have shaken off the yoke of western dominance and emerged into freedom; the Second World War has changed beyond recognition the pre-war contours of international relations; the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have emerged as super-Powers with a plenitude of productive and destructive capability never before witnessed in the history of mankind; India and China, the two most populous nations in the world, are trying desperately in different ways to achieve the Great Power status that is rightfully theirs.

Along with politics the texture of society has also changed. The old oligarchical structures, in which the few enjoyed luxury while the many wallowed in despair and grinding poverty, have begun crashing to the ground. Certainly glaring differences of living standards, within and between nations, still exist, but there is a growing realization that affluence and poverty go ill together and indeed provide a combination so combustible that it may shake the established order to its foundations. The whole system of production has changed as the result of technological advance,

and this in turn has changed the hierarchical structure of society.

We live in one of those crucial junctures of history between a past that is dying and a future that is struggling to be born. Being under forty myself, I cannot really speak much from personal experience, but in the last twenty years it has become clear that the process of transformation has reached all corners of the globe, and even a developing nation like ours, which is still somewhat insulated from the typhoon of change that has swept the more affluent nations, is undergoing a process of fundamental transformation. The rigidities of conservative social practices are being increasingly rejected by our younger generations. Religious teachings, clothed as they often are in archaic and irritating garbs which successfully disguise the core of truth, are becoming increasingly irrelevant to the young. Old values and established conventions everywhere are collapsing, but a new equilibrium does not yet appear to be even on the horizon.

A peculiar feature of our age is that with the growth of science and technology the speed of change itself has speeded up. Scientific advances are such that each new discovery triggers off a whole series of concomitant changes. These in turn lead to still further developments producing a multiplier effect which, by the end of the century, will have wrought changes which many of us today can hardly envisage. The most dramatic scientific achievement, of course, has been the recent voyage of man to the moon. I hesitate to call it the "conquest of space", as has been widely done in the euphoria generated by this magnificent achievement, because in fact it is merely the first step in a new and unending quest into the universe around us. Indeed the achievement, which is a magnificent tribute to the courage and ingenuity of man, should inspire us with a new sense of

diffidence in the realization of how little we really know about the cosmos. It brings home to us, as never before, the fact that we are a grain of matter spinning through endless space, a minor planet of a minor star in one of a billion billion galaxies!

There is no doubt, however, that the moon-landing marks the beginning of a new era of scientific achievement, and, as the society in which we live is largely influenced by our technological competence at any given moment, it is also clear that its impact upon society in the years to come will be profound. One hopes that among the other facets of this impact will be a growing realization that our world and all its people are indeed one, bound indissolubly by ties of humanity and common citizenship of the planet earth. Change has always been permanent, now it will be more dramatic than ever before. There has been much talk of the growing gap between generations, and this is bound to increase in the years to come. With the present rate of change a single biological generation encompasses several technological generations, the latter renewing itself every five years while the former remains static at around twenty-five. In the result, it is only the most enlightened representatives of the older and younger generations who can make the necessary leap of understanding in order to communicate meaningfully with each other. This is a situation which has not only come to stay but will certainly become increasingly difficult as we move towards the end of the century. It will require all our reserves of wisdom and understanding, of enlightened education and emancipated politics, to prevent society from disintegration under the impact of this avalanche of change which is upon us.

It is important to remember, however, that change is not merely a destruction of the old; it carries with itself the seeds of regeneration. In the vast cycles of geological time,

the stately and unhurried rhythms of nature, or even the hectic and fevered lives of modern men, the regenerative power inherent in existence manifests itself. As the *Katha Upanishad* has it:

Sasyam iva martyah pacyate sasyam ivajāyate punah

(Like corn a mortal ripens, and like corn is born again.)

The bright radiance of day leads inescapably into the waiting arms of night, and yet the night itself contains within it the irrevocable promise of a new day. A child is born and grows to maturity in sunshine and shadow, and his life continues into old age, and yet it is our belief that death holds within it the promise of new life as surely as the night promises the new day. Great civilizations rise and flourish, and then, having passed their zenith, decline into the receding twilight of history. Every second, countless galaxies spring into being, and countless others vanish into the abyss from which they came. And so the cycle continues, the *Brahmachakram* (the Great Wheel of Being) that revolves incessantly, carrying with it all that was, all that now exists and all that ever will be.

But if change itself were the only ultimate reality, then what would be the ultimate purpose of creation, of human destiny? Change is permanent indeed, but there is a parallel concept that runs like a golden thread through the history of our civilization, the concept of the one changeless being behind this constant flux. If we accept change itself as the sovereign of our destiny, without postulating a changeless reality against which is enacted the whole drama of existence, we end up inexorably in the blind alley of nihilistic materialism. Better it is to view existence with its myriad facets as changing patterns thrown upon the changeless screen of ultimate Reality. It has been the deepest endeavour of our civilization, while accepting the perman-

ence of change, to seek within our own selves the golden key to the changeless—the one behind the many, the Reality behind the appearance, the Light behind the darkness, and behind death the Immortality.

COMMEMORATING JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In a very important sense the only real memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru is the India which he loved so deeply and to which he rendered such remarkable service both during the turbulent years of the freedom struggle and, later, as free India's first Prime Minister for 17 years. His contribution to the attainment of freedom and, even more, to the development of India as an independent nation will rank among the great human achievements of the modern age. A man who was deeply committed to the uplift and development of his country, to the welfare of its vast masses who for centuries had lived in abject poverty under foreign domination, his deep sense of history which enabled him always to see beyond the conflicts and controversies of the present into the broad perspectives of the future, his deep sympathy for the masses of Asia and Africa in their attempts to shake off colonial rule which projected him as one of the few genuine world leaders of this century, his unwavering commitment to democratic means and socialist ends, all these combined to make Jawaharlal Nehru a unique figure even in an age which has seen so many remarkable people. Perhaps we in this country are still too near Jawaharlal's life and work to be able to assess it in its proper historical perspective. I have no doubt, however, that when the history of the twentieth century comes to be written Jawaharlal's name will be among the few whose work and contribution to human welfare will transcend barriers of place and time.

It is natural that after the passing away of such a towering leader efforts should have been made to commemorate him in certain specific ways. In this article I will

briefly highlight the more notable of these efforts. The memorial activities fall broadly into two divisions; those undertaken by the Government of India and those by the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. I will deal first with the Government projects, the four most important of which are:

(1) *The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library*: Soon after he passed away, the Teen Murti House where he lived for 16 years as Prime Minister was dedicated to the nation as a permanent memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru. At present the building houses both a personalia museum as well as a library of modern India which is steadily developing into an important centre for research in the country and for scholars from abroad. Plans are now being finalized to construct in the campus of Teen Murti House a separate building which will house the library, which will enable the Teen Murti House to be used more adequately for permanent and occasional exhibitions and also permit the library adequate space to develop. Already the library has built up an impressive collection of books, periodicals, newspapers, microfilms and unpublished records, and also a unique oral history project in which hundreds of persons directly involved in the freedom movement are being interviewed. The object of the library is to specialize in the entire period of modern Indian history from Raja Ram Mohun Roy to Jawaharlal Nehru. Besides the papers of the Nehru family which Shrimati Indira Gandhi has donated to the library, it has acquired valuable institutional and personal collections which will be of immense archival and research importance. The institution is administered by the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library Society which is financed by the Government of India through the Ministry of Education.

(2) *The Jawaharlal Nehru University*: In one of his memorable statements Jawaharlal Nehru said: "A University stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason; for the adventure of ideas and for the search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people." Keeping this vision in mind the Government of India decided that a Jawaharlal Nehru University should be set up in New Delhi. The Bill was passed by Parliament and the University was inaugurated on 14th November 1969. It is hoped that this University will develop into an institution equal to the finest anywhere in the world. It is paying special attention to the inter-disciplinary approach, and has defined its objects as follows:—

"The University shall endeavour to promote the study of the principles for which Jawaharlal Nehru worked during his life-time, namely, national integration, social justice, secularism, democratic way of life, international understanding and scientific approach to the problems of society."

(3) *The Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding*: Jawaharlal Nehru belonged not only to India but to the entire world. His vision of history and his capacity to transcend national barriers and encompass within his ambit the entire human race, make him one of the few truly international leaders in a century that has been plagued by national chauvinism and incessant conflicts between nation States. As a tribute to his memory and his life-long dedication to the cause of world peace, the Government of India have instituted a Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding to be given annually for outstanding contribution to the promotion of international understanding, goodwill and friendship among

the peoples of the world. The award, which carries an amount of rupees one lakh in cash (convertible into foreign currency), is made by a 7-man jury under the Chairmanship of the Vice-President of India and including the Chief Justice of India and other eminent public figures. It is administered by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. So far four awards have been made, and the list of recipients clearly illustrates the basic philosophy which informs the award. For the year 1965 the award was made to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations; for 1966 to Dr. Martin Luther King (posthumously); for 1967 to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and for 1968 to Yehudi Menuhin.

(4) *Shanti Vana*: When he died on 27th May 1964, Jawaharlal Nehru was cremated on the banks of the Jamuna near Delhi. In his last Will and Testament he had desired to be cremated, and although he did not accept any of the traditional rituals involved on such occasions he had said that he wished a handful of his ashes to be thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad. To quote his words, "My desire to have a handful of my ashes thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad has no religious significance, so far as I am concerned. I have no religious sentiments in the matter. I have been attached to the Ganga and Jamuna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood and, as I have grown older, this attachment has also grown. I have watched their varying moods as the seasons changed, and have often thought of the history and myth and tradition and song and story that have become attached to them through the long ages and become part of their flowing waters." The area where Jawaharlal was cremated has been called 'Shanti Vana' and stands between Raj Ghat dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi and Vijay Ghat to Lal Bahadur Shastri. A major programme of plantation and landscaping has

been undertaken to convert Shanti Vana into an oasis of calm and beauty which the people of Delhi can visit at leisure. The project is looked after by a Shanti Vana Committee and is administered by the Government of India through the Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development.

The second set of memorial activities is undertaken by the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund which was launched with an appeal by President Radhakrishnan soon after Jawaharlal's passing away. The Fund formally came into being on 17th August 1964 with Dr. Zakir Husain as its first Chairman. After his passing away Shrimati Indira Gandhi was elected Chairman by the Trustees of the Fund. Despite the fact that we were involved in a conflict with Pakistan during 1965, the public came forward generously to donate to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. These public contributions ranged from a crore of rupees collected by eminent industrialists to a few annas contributed from their pocket money by thousands of school children throughout the length and breadth of the country. The present assets of the Fund stand at 3.56 crores. The following are the major projects that have been undertaken by the Fund:—

(1) *Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowships*: Jawaharlal Nehru was one of those rare men in human history who could be said to have advanced the cause of civilization through the medium of their own lives. His eternal passion for the enlargement of the frontiers of knowledge and the enrichment of the human mind were well known, and it was in this context that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund decided to institute Fellowships dedicated to the encouragement of higher learning and free intellectual inquiry. The Fellowships seek to provide an opportunity to exceptionally talented persons with proven capacity for outstanding

work to devote themselves with entire freedom to a creative project for a period of two years. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, 'Man today, as never before in human history, has to live with change as a permanent partner in his activities and his institutions." This applies even to the most brilliant scholars, who frequently need periods which they can devote entirely to the enrichment of their intellectual capital, particularly in view of the speed with which every discipline is developing in this nuclear age. A unique feature of the fellowships is that they are open not only to academicians but to persons from every walk of life including the fine arts, civil servants and litterateurs. So far 18 Fellowships have been awarded.

(2) *Jawahar Bal Bhavans*: Soon after the Fund was instituted it was decided that 40 per cent of the collections made by the States would be returned to them for the purpose of constructing a series of Jawahar Bal Bhavans. Jawaharlal's particular affection for children, whom he always looked upon as the real wealth of the nation, is well known, and the Fund therefore thought that it would be most appropriate to earmark a portion of the collections for the welfare of children. The prototype is the Bal Bhavan and National Children's Museum in New Delhi and so far four States–Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu–have by their collections qualified for the setting up of these institutions.

(3) *Memorial Functions*: The two dates most closely associated in the public mind with Jawaharlal Nehru are his birthday on the 14th November and the day of his passing away on the 27th May. On these two days the Fund arranges special programmes both at Teen Murti House and at Shanti Vana. The 14th November, of course, is now internationally observed as Children's Day, and the functions are joyous ones involving large numbers of

children. On the 27th May the functions are somewhat more introspective, so that people can be encouraged to think deeply upon all that Jawaharlal Nehru did and stood for.

On the 13th November every year the Fund organizes the annual Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lecture by an intellectual of international eminence. The lecturers so far include Professor P. M. S. Blackett, President of the Royal Society; Professor S. Chandrasekhar, the eminent astrophysicist; Dr. Buckminster Fuller, the inventor and comprehensivist; and the Nobel Laureate in Economics, Professor Jan Tinbergen.

(4) *Anand Bhavan*: Jawaharlal Nehru wrote of his family house that "Anand Bhavan has become for us and others a symbol of much that we value in life. It is far more than a structure of brick and concrete, more than a private possession. It is connected intimately with our national struggle for freedom and within its walls great events have happened and great decisions have been reached." It was therefore entirely fitting that his daughter Shrimati Indira Gandhi should have decided to donate Anand Bhavan to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. This was announced on 14th November 1969 and the formal ceremony took place in Allahabad on the 1st November 1970. The Fund intends to preserve and develop Anand Bhavan in a manner that would perpetuate the memory of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal, and propagate Jawaharlal's message for generations to come. The intention is that it should be a living memorial which will remind the people not only of the personal achievements of the family but of the ideals for which Jawaharlal Nehru stood and worked all his life.

(5) *Publications*: An important part of Jawaharlal Nehru's many-splendoured achievements were his literary works, some of which rank among the finest examples of written English produced in this century. Apart from his major

books—*Autobiography, Glimpses of World History, Discovery of India, Letters from a Father to his Daughter*—there are numerous other shorter writings that are also of great merit and interest. The Fund has therefore decided to bring out a set of Selected Works in 20 volumes over the next five years covering published and unpublished material. A special edition of his *Autobiography* is being brought out in Braille for the benefit of the blind. Also, the Fund has commissioned the eminent historian Dr. S. Gopal to undertake a two-volume biography of Jawaharlal Nehru which is expected to be a definitive work on this remarkable man.

As I said at the outset, the only true memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru is India itself. He was a man who dedicated his entire being to the welfare of India, and the people of our nation repaid that affection in generous measure. As he says in his Testament, "I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it, and indeed there can be no repayment of so precious a thing as affection. Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it." Jawaharlal himself has passed into the pages of history; what becomes of the country that he bequeathed to us will depend to a large extent upon how far we, the people of India, are able to live up to his generous ideals and his noble vision of India's destiny.

INDIA: TOURISM IN THE 'SEVENTIES

FIVE FACTORS COMBINE to make India perhaps the world's most exciting tourist destination.

First, there is the land itself, stretching from the matchless splendour of the mighty Himalayan ranges in the North down to Cape Comorin in the South where three great oceans meet and mingle. Within this vast expanse exists almost every type of topography that one can imagine; the exquisite valley of Kashmir set like a magic jewel among a perfect ring of mountains; the rich forests of the Himalayan foothills, Assam and Central India teeming with a wide variety of wild life; mighty rivers that arise in the Himalayas and other mountain sources and flow for hundreds of miles before they reach the oceans; vast stretches of virgin beaches with some of the finest sand that can be found anywhere. India, in short, provides a spectrum of natural beauty that can be matched only by two or three other countries in the world.

Second, there are the magnificent creations of a civilization stretching back to the very dawn of recorded history. For at least five thousand years India has an unbroken tradition of sculpture and architecture and can boast of some of the greatest creations known to civilized man. The rock caves of Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta; the great living temples of South India covered entirely by intricate sculpture; the superb ruins of Konarak in Orissa and Martand in Kashmir; the matchless Taj Mahal which is rightly considered to be the most beautiful single building in the world; these are only among the better known monuments that India presents to the tourists. There are literally thousands

of other monuments which are masterworks of art in their own right.

Third, there is in India a rich tradition of music and dance, both classical as well as folk. India's most ancient dance, the Bharat Natyam, is a deeply moving experience in which each gesture contains a wealth of symbolism; the famous Kathakali dance of Kerala where intricate masks are worn is often performed unbroken throughout the night; and there are several other schools of classical dance each with its own peculiar attraction. In addition India, with its varied ethnic groups, possesses a wealth of vibrant and uninhibited folk dancing. In the realm of music also, both vocal and instrumental, there is a heritage that is rich and varied and that has over the last two decades carried its message deep into the citadels of the affluent nations.

Fourth, there is the new India that is slowly but steadily emerging as a modern country dedicated to the concepts of parliamentary democracy and economic progress. This is the India of the future, where mighty hydro-electric projects are transforming the agricultural base upon which India depends; where giant steel plants produce the raw material upon which India's industrial superstructure is being built; where education is growing steadily to cover an increasingly large section of the population and medical facilities are being extended to the hundreds of thousands of villages in rural India. This is the India which can now produce industrial goods ranging from a supersonic jet fighter to the latest transistor radio; an India on the move, awake and agog with excitement in the midst of all the tensions and turmoil that are inevitable when an ancient and traditional society decides to modernize.

Fifth, and finally, there are the people of India comprising fully a seventh of the human race, varied as perhaps are few other people in any nation of the world in their

race and physiognomy, their religion and customs, their fairs and festivals, their language and politics, and yet tied together by a common bond of national unity; a people who for centuries have been taught to welcome a stranger as a friend and to honour him.

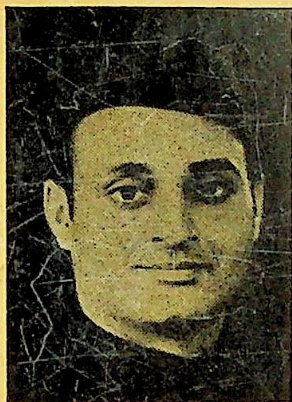
These factors offer the prospective visitor to India a rare and unique combination. It is our effort to make these attractions better known throughout the world, because our expected tourist inflow of 300,000 in 1970 is minuscule as compared with the numbers attracted by much smaller countries with far less to offer. Our target is to reach a million visitors by the end of the decade, both because this strengthens our friendly relations with the countries of the world and for the valuable foreign exchange that it can earn for us at this crucial juncture in our economic development.

We are approaching the problem from two main angles. One is the projection abroad of a new, composite image of India as an exciting tourist destination covering the various factors that I have mentioned. Too often is India thought of as a country of starving millions and insoluble economic problems. It is true that our economic problems are urgent and difficult, but it is also true that they are being tackled resolutely and that we are confident of achieving a substantial economic break-through by the end of this decade. In our promotional campaign we are concentrating not only upon our well established tourist attractions such as the Taj Mahal, but also highlighting some of our lesser known facilities such as our rich and varied cuisine and shopping bargains; our ski resorts and superb beaches; our wild life and our new industrial achievements. Our effort is that people should come to India not merely for a few days as part of a round-the-world tour, but for longer periods as a tourist destination in its own right, and

in this context we are working in close collaboration with our friendly and picturesque neighbours Ceylon and Nepal so that the 'tourist package' is further enriched.

The other aspect with which we are now actively involved relates to the strengthening of our tourism infrastructure at home. Our four international airports at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras are undergoing major renovations to handle the increased traffic in the Jumbo era. We have plans to construct another ten thousand hotel rooms over the next three years to cope with the increased tourist traffic, ranging from luxurious five-star hotels to more moderately priced establishments that will cater to less affluent visitors. We are modernizing both our national airlines with the purchase of the latest jet planes so that visitors to India can travel speedily to and within the country. We are paying special attention to the preservation of our wild life for viewing and photography, and have recently taken steps to ban completely the shooting of the beautiful Indian tiger whose numbers have dropped precipitately over the last few years. We are increasing entertainment facilities for tourists by mounting son-et-lumiere spectacles in various parts of the country and encouraging private entrepreneurs to expand their eating and recreational facilities. We are investing fifty million rupees to develop two new international tourist resorts, a winter sports complex at Gulmarg in Kashmir and a beach resort at Kovalam in Kerala.

India takes pride in the fact that it has never considered itself a closed society but, rather, has welcomed ideas and people from wherever they may come provided they come in peace and in friendship. This is the philosophy that informs our tourism development in India today.



THE AUTHOR

DR. KARAN SINGH is one of India's outstanding young thinkers and leaders, a bridge between the old and the new generations.

Born on 9th March 1931, Dr. Karan Singh was catapulted into political life at the early age of eighteen. Since then he was continuously Head of Jammu and Kashmir for eighteen years—as Regent (1949-52), elected Sadar-i-Riyasat (1952-65) and Governor (1965-67). He enjoys widespread popularity and respect among all sections of the people.

In March 1967 he was appointed a Member of the Union Cabinet with the portfolio of Tourism and Civil Aviation. At 36, he was the youngest person ever to become a Central Cabinet Minister. On this appointment he resigned his Governorship and stood for election to the Lok Sabha from his own State and was elected with a majority of about 250,000 votes—a record for all the elections since India became independent.

He graduated in 1951 from the Jammu & Kashmir University of which he was the Chancellor, passed the M.A. examination at Delhi in Political Science with a First Class First, and earned his Doctorate with a thesis on "The Political Thought of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh".

He was also Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board, Secretary of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund and Convenor of the National Committee for the Sri Aurobindo Centenary. He holds the honorary rank of Major-General in the Indian Army.

Dr. Karan Singh is author of half a dozen books which include writings on political science, philosophical essays, travelogue and original poems in English. He has written several devotional songs in his mother tongue and he is a keen student of Indian classical music.